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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BUCANIERS

OF

AMERICA

CONTAINING,

I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONOIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portugueſe, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.

II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON, and others, in the South Sea.

III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.

IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695.

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Deſcription of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and moſt of the Spaniſh Poſſeſſions on the Coaſts of the Weſt Indies, and alſo all along the Coaſts of the South Sea; with the [illegible] which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by the [illegible]turers.

23330

The Whole written in ſeveral Languages by Perſons preſent at the Tranſactions.

VOL. II.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS, &c. IN AMERICA.

PART II. CHAP. XIV.

The Buccaniers depart from the port of Hilo, and steer to that of Coquimbo: they are described before their arrival; notwithstanding they land: are encountered by the Spaniards, and put them to flight. They take, plunder, and fire the city of la Sarena: a description thereof. A stratagem of the Spaniards, in endeavouring to fire their ship, discovered and prevented. They are deceived again by the Spaniards, and forced to retire from Coquimbo without any ransom for the city, or considerable pillage. They release several of their chiefest prisoners.

THE next morning, being Wednesday, November the 3d, 1680, about seven o'clock we set sail from Hilo, standing directly off to sea, with a small land wind. Upon the shore we could not discover this morning above fifty men of our enemies forces, which caused us to suspect the

reſt were run away from their colours, and had deſerted in the dark of the night. If this were ſo, we were equally afraid of each other, and as we quitted the land, being jealous of their multitudes, ſo they abandoned their ſtations for fear of our encounters. All the while we lay in the port of Hilo, we had a freſh wind; but being come out thence, we found it almoſt ſtark calm. All along this coaſt runs a great ſea, as we experimented at Arica, inſomuch that there is no landing, except under the favour of ſome rock or other.

November the 4th, in the morning, we ſaw the port of Hilo at E. N. E. at the diſtance of nine leagues or thereabouts from land. The white ſand gives a bright reflection over the land; which we could ſee after we had loſt the ſight of the land itſelf.

The day following we had an indifferent freſh wind at S. S. E. We reckoned a S. W. half weſt way, and by it that we had made twenty leagues: the day was very fair and ſun-ſhiny, and the ſea very ſmooth.

November the 6th, we had a clear night the laſt paſt, and the day proved very fair and clear, like the former; we reckoned by a S. W. by W. way, about twenty-one leagues. In the afternoon it was almoſt quite calm.

The day following we had no more than the laſt twenty-four hours. We were about this time many of us troubled with the ſcurvy; it proceeded, as we judged, from the great hardſhip and want of proviſions which we had endured for ſeveral months paſt, as having only bread and water (as was mentioned above) only at Hilo we killed a mule, which was looked upon by thoſe that eat of it to be very good victuals, the Spaniards having ſwept away with them all other proviſions of fleſh: but we got

got there as plunder a ſmall quantity of good chocolate, which the Spaniards have in great eſteem: ſo now we had each morning a diſh of pleaſant liquor containing almoſt a pint.

Next day likewiſe we had very little wind, as before; we made an obſervation this day, and found lat. 20 deg. 5 S.

November the 9th, we had ſtill very little wind, and that variable. We took almoſt every hour an obſervation, and found ourſelves to be in lat. 20 deg. 18 S.

The 10th, we had in like manner but little wind; we obſerved an E. S. E. current, or pretty near it, run hereabouts. This day we ſaw the homing of a very high land, which much ſurprized us, for at this time I conceived we could not be leſs than thirty-five or forty leagues from land; we ſuppoſed it to be Mora Tarapaca. That day we ſet up our ſhrouds.

Upon the 11th, an indifferent gale of wind ſprang up at S. W. by S. by which we made twenty-five leagues and one third: we had now a great S. S. W. ſea: in the night the wind (as we experimented) came one or two points from the land: this morning we ſaw the like homing of land, whereby we were made ſenſible it was no land we had ſeen the day before.

On the 12th, we had ſeveral miſts of rain, with windy weather; we made by a S. S. W. half S. way, twenty-five leagues and one third; we had likewiſe a great and rolling S. S. W. ſea, as the day before.

The 13th, we had both cloudy and miſty weather; we made a S. S. W. and one quarter S. way, by which we ran fifty leagues.

But the next day, fair and clear weather came about again: we had likewiſe an eaſy gale of wind,

by which we made a S. W. way, and advanced twenty-two leagues and a half.

On the 15th of November, we had alſo clear weather, and an indifferent gale of wind. Our way was S. W. by W. by which we reckoned eighteen leagues; likewiſe at our weſting from Hilo, from whence we ſet forth, was 114 leagues and one third: our latitude by obſervation, we found to be 23 deg. 25 S. I took now the declination table uſed and made by the coſmographer at Lima.

Tueſday, November the 16th. In the night laſt paſt we had a ſhower or two of rain: this day we made an obſervation, by which we found lat. 23 deg. 35 S.

The 17th, we made a S. W. by W. half S. way. By obſervation we found lat. 23 deg. 46 S. with very little wind.

The 18th, upon a S. W. by W. way we made twenty-one leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 23 deg. 20 S.

Friday, November the 19th, 1680. This morning about an hour before day, we obſerved a comet to appear a degree N. from the bright ſtar in Libra; the body thereof ſeemed dull, and its tail extended itſelf eighteen or twenty degrees in length, being of a pale colour, and pointed directly N. N. W. Our priſoners hereupon told us that the Spaniards had ſeen very ſtrange ſights both at Lima, the capital city of Peru, Guayaquil, and other places, much about the time of our coming into the South Seas. I reckon this day we had run twenty leagues by a S. W. way.

The day following the appearance of the comet we had many ſtorms of wind at S. S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning by a S. W. way was twenty-two leagues.

Sunday, November 21ſt, likewiſe many guſts of wind, ſuch as the day before, with frequent ſhow-

ers

ers of rain: the wind varied to and fro according as the clouds drew it here and there. We reckoned a S. S. W. way, and by it twenty-one leagues and a half; in all, weſt from Hilo, we judged ourſelves to be 178 leagues and two thirds. We had this day a great S. W. ſea, and cloudy weather: I ſuppoſed our lat. to be 26 deg. 53 S.

November the 22d, we had in like manner cloudy weather, and now but little wind: we reckoned a S. way, and fifty one leagues.

The 23d, we had very little wind, and all ſtorm after the appearance of the comet, being now quite allayed, we reckoned we had made a S. E. by E. way, and found our latitude by obſervation to bear 27 deg. 46 S.

Wedneſday, November the 24th. For twenty-four hours paſt we had a N W. Wind. Our way was S. E. half S. by which we reckoned thirty-one leagues and one third.

The 25th. Laſt night the wind blew at W. S. W. but this morning it came about again at N. weſt, as the day before: our reckoning this day was a S. E. and one quarter E. way twenty-nine leagues and one third: our latitude now by obſervation made this day, was 39 deg. 57 S. our difference of meridian $135\frac{1}{3}$.

November the 26th. In the night the wind ſtarted to S. S. W. but this day at noon we had little better than a calm. I reckoned an E. S. E. half E. way, and by it twenty-three leagues.

Saturday the 27th. Yeſterday in the evening the wind came to S. I reckoned an eaſt, and ſomething ſoutherly way, and by that twenty-three leagues as the day before.

November the 28th. For twenty-four hours paſt we had a freſh wind at S. S. E. having a high S. W. ſea. Our reckoning was an E. by N. and half N. way, and withal twenty-four leagues. By obſerva-

tion, we found latitude 30 deg. 16 S. and meridian diſtance eighty-eight leagues. At noon the wind came at S. half E.

On the 29th, we had a very great S. W. ſea, and withal cloudy weather. My reckoning was an E. one third S. way, twenty leagues and one-third. This day we happened to ſee two or three great fowls flying in the air, which our pilot told us uſed to appear ſeventy or eighty leagues off from the iſland, called the iſland of Juan Fernandez. The day before this, captain Peralta, our priſoner, was taken very frantic, his diſtemper being occaſioned (as we thought) through too much hardſhip and melancholy; notwithſtanding this day he was indifferently well again.

The following day we had likewiſe cloudy weather. We made according to our account, an E. half N. way, and by it ſixteen leagues and two thirds. Our meridian difference fifty-two leagues.

The 1ſt of December we had hazy weather, and withal an indifferent good wind at S. yea, ſometimes S. by W. Our way was E. by S. by which we reckoned twenty-two leagues. The night before we ſailed over white water-like banks of a mile in length, or more; but theſe banks upon examination we found to be only great ſhoals of anchovies.

December 2d, very early in the morning we ſpied land, which appeared to be very high. About noon this day we were at ſix leagues diſtance from it. All the preceding night we had ſo much wind that we were forced to make uſe only of a pair of courſes. By an obſervation made this day we found latitude 30 deg. 35 S. We went away largely, driving better than 9 leagues every watch. With this wind we made all the ſail we poſſibly could, deſigning by this means to get to Coquimbo, upon which coaſt we now were before night: but the wind was ſo high, that ſometimes we were forced to lower all our ſails, it blowing now a mere fret of wind.

Towards

Towards evening it abated by degrees, inſomuch that at midnight it was quite calm again; then we hoiſted out our launch and canoes, and putting into them one hundred men, we rowed away from the ſhip, with deſign to take by ſurprizal a conſiderable city near the coaſt, called by the Spaniards, *la cividad de la Serena.*

Friday, December the 3d, 1680. When we departed from the ſhip, we had about two leagues to row to the ſhore; but as it happened, the launch wherein I was rowed ſo heavy (in compariſon of the canoes) that we could not keep pace with them; for this reaſon it was broad day before we got to a certain ſtorehouſe ſituate upon the ſhore, our men having paſſed by it in the dark of the night without perceiving it. They being landed, immediately marched away from their canoes towards the city before-mentioned of la Serena. But we had not proceeded far on our march, when we found, to the great ſorrow and chagrin of us all, that we were timely diſcovered here alſo, as we had been at the other two places before, Arica and Hilo: for as they marched in a body together, being but thirty-five men in all, who were all thoſe that were landed out of the canoes, they were ſuddenly encountered and engaged by a whole troop of a hundred Spaniſh horſe. We that were behind hearing the noiſe of the diſpute, followed them at their heels, and made all the haſte we poſſibly could to come up to their relief; but before we could reach the place of the battle, they had already routed the Spaniards, and forced them to fly towards the town.

Notwithſtanding this rout, they rallied again at the diſtance of about a mile from the place, and ſeemed as if they waited for us, and would engage us anew. But as ſoon as all our forces were come together, which were in all eighty-four, the reſt being left to guard the boats, we marched towards

them and offered them battle. As we came near unto them, we found plainly they deſigned no ſuch thing, for they inſtantly retired and rid away before us, keeping out of the reach of our guns. We followed them as they rid, being led by them deſignedly clear out of the road that went to the town, that we might not reach nor find it ſo ſoon. In this engagement with the horſe, our company had killed three of their chiefeſt men, and wounded four more, killing alſo four of their horſes. When we found that we had been led by this ſtratagem of the enemy out of the way of the town, we left the bay, and croſſed over the green fields to find it, wading oftentimes over ſeveral branches of water; which there ſerve to encloſe each plat of ground. Upon this march we came to ſeveral houſes, but found them all empty, and ſwept clean, both of inhabitants and proviſions: we ſaw likewiſe ſeveral horſes and other heads of cattle in the fields as we went along towards the city. This place of la Serena our pilot had reported to us to be but a ſmall town, but being arrived there, we found in it no fewer than ſeven great churches and one chapel: four of theſe churches were monaſteries or convents, and each church had its organs for the performance of divine ſervice. Several of the houſes had their orchards of fruit and gardens belonging to them; both houſes and gardens being as well and as neatly furniſhed as thoſe in England; in theſe gardens we found ſtrawberries as big as walnuts and thoſe very delicious to the taſte; in a word, every thing in this city of la Serena was moſt excellent and delicate, and far beyond what we could expect in ſo remote a place. The town was inhabited by all ſorts of tradeſmen, and beſides them, had its merchants, ſome of which were accounted very rich.

The inhabitants of la Serena upon our approach fled, carrying with them the beſt of their goods and jewels;

jewels; and what they could not carry away that was of value they buried, having had time enough to do ſo from the advice they received of our coming from Arica and other places. Notwithſtanding, we took in the town one friar, and two Chilenos, or Spaniards, natives of the kingdom of Chili, which adjoins to that of Peru, towards the ſtreight of Magellan. Theſe priſoners told us, that the Spaniards, when they heard of our coming, had killed moſt of their Chilian ſlaves, fearing they ſhould revolt from them to us. Moreover, that we had been deſcribed from their coaſts four days before our landing; all which time they had employed in carrying away their plate and goods. To this information they added, that for their defence they had received a ſupply of ſixty men from Arica. Having taken poſſeſſion of the town, that evening there came a negro to us, running away from the Spaniards; he informed us, that when we were before Panama, we had taken a negro who was eſteemed the beſt pilot in all the South-Sea; but more eſpecially for this place, and the coaſts of Coquimbo: and further, that if the Spaniards had not ſent all the negroes belonging to this city farther up into the country, out of our reach and communication, they would all undoubtedly have revolted to us.

That night about twelve our boatſwain, accompanied by forty men, with a Chilian for their guide, went out of the town ſome miles into the country with a deſign to find out the places where the Spaniards lay concealed, and had hid their goods and plate; but before they came, the Spaniards had got intelligence thereof from ſome ſecret ſpies they had in the town, and both the men and their women were all fled to places that were more occult and remote. So that by this ſearch they only found an old Indian woman and three children, but no gold

nor plate. This morning our ſhip came to an anchor by the ſtorehouſe above-mentioned, named Tortuga, at the diſtance of a furlong from ſhore in the depth of ſeven fathom water.

Next morning, being Saturday, December the 4th, came into the town a flag of truce from the enemy. Their meſſage was to proffer a ranſom for the town to preſerve it from burning; for now they began to fear we would ſet fire to it, as having found no conſiderable booty nor pillage therein. The chief commanders on both ſides met about this point, and agreed betwixt them for the ſum of 95,000 pieces of eight for the whole ranſom. In the afternoon I was ſent down to the bay of Coquimbo, with a party of twenty men, to carry thither ſome goods we had taken in the town, as alſo proviſions for the ſhip. It is two leagues and a half from the town to the port; one league on the bay, the reſt being a very great road, which leads from the bay to the city. The Spaniards promiſed that the ranſom ſhould be collected and paid in by the next day. This day alſo there died one of our negroes ſlaves on board the ſhip.

The day following in the morning I came back to the town with the men I had brought down the day before, only ſix of them I left behind, to look after our canoes at the end of the bay. When I came to the city, I found that the Spaniards had broken their promiſe, and had not brought in the ranſom they had agreed for; but had begged time till to-morrow at eight in the forenoon. This evening another party of our men went down to the ſhip to carry ſuch goods as we had pillaged in the town. That night, about nine of the clock happened an earthquake, the which we were very ſenſible of as we were all together in the church of San Juan, where our chief rendezvous and corps du guard

was

was kept. In the night the Spaniards opened a ſluice, and let the water run in ſtreams about the town, with intent either to overflow it, and thereby force us out of the place, or at leaſt that they might the eaſier quench the flame in caſe we ſhould fire the town.

Next morning we ſet fire to the town, perceiving it to be overflown, and that the Spaniards had not performed, or rather that they never deſigned to perform their promiſe. We fired as nigh as we could every houſe in the whole town, to the end that it might be totally reduced to aſhes. Thus we left la Serena, carrying with us what plunder we could find, having ſent two parties before loaded with goods to the ſhip, as was mentioned above. As we marched down to the bay, we beat up an ambuſcade of 250 horſe which lay hid in the way, with an intent to fall on our men in caſe we had ſent down any other party with goods to the ſhip. We received advice that the Spaniards had endeavoured by an unuſual ſtratagem to burn our ſhip and thereby deſtroy us all. They blew up a horſe's hide like a bladder, and upon this float a man ventured to ſwim from ſhore, and come under the ſtern of our ſhip; being arrived there, he crammed okeham and brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter between the rudder and the ſtern-poſt: having done this, he fired it with a match, ſo that in a ſmall time our rudder was on fire, and all the ſhip in a ſmoke. Our men, both alarmed and amazed with this ſmoke, ran up and down the ſhip, ſuſpecting the priſoners to have fired the veſſel, thereby to get their liberty and deſtroy us. At laſt they found out where the fire was, and had the good fortune to quench it before its going too far. As ſoon as they had put it out, they ſent the boat aſhore, and found both the hide before-mentioned, and the match burning at both

ends, whereby they diſcovered the whole matter. When we came to the ſtorehouſe on the ſhore ſide, we ſet at liberty the friar our priſoner, and another gentleman, who was become our hoſtage for the performance of the ranſom. And when we came aboard, we likewiſe ſet at liberty captain Peralta, don Thomas de Argandona, don Baltazar, don Chriſteval, captain Juan the pilot's mate, the old moor, and ſeveral other of our chief priſoners. To this releaſement of our priſoners we were moved, partly becauſe we knew not well what to do with them, and partly becauſe we feared that by the example of this ſtratagem, they might be able to effect what the other had attempted with ſo much likelihood of ſucceſs.

CHAP. XV.

The Bucaniers ſet ſail from Coquimbo for the iſle of Juan Fernandez. An exact account of this voyage. Miſery they endure, and great dangers they eſcape there. They mutiny among themſelves and chooſe Watling to be their chief commander. Deſcription of the iſland. Three Spaniſh men of war meet with the Bucaniers at the ſaid iſland; with what happened thereupon.

BEING all embarked again (as was mentioned in the precedent chapter) the next morning, which was Tueſday, December the 7th, twenty of us were ſent aſhore to obſerve the motions of the enemy. We went to the look-out, or watch-hill, but could learn nothing from thence; hereupon, about noon we returned on board the ſhip, and at two in the afternoon we weighed anchor and ſet ſail, directing our courſe for the iſland of Juan Fernandez, not far from the coaſt of Coquimbo.

At

at night we were five leagues diſtant from thence at N. W. by N. The ſouthermoſt iſland of thoſe which are called de los Paxaros, or Iſland of Birds, was then N. N. W. from us. Before our departure, I took a draught of the bay of Coquimbo, and of the city of la Serena.

December the 8th, we had but very little wind, and a leeward current here, which we could perceive heaved us to the northward. The aforementioned iſland de los Paxaros, at three in the afternoon bore N. E. of us at the diſtance of three leagues or threabouts.

It is four leagues diſtant from the main continent, and from the next iſland of the ſame name about two. The main is extream high and mountainous hereabouts. At evening we were weſt from the ſaid iſland five leagues. About eight or nine leagues to the windward of Coquimbo are certain white cliffs, which appear from the ſhore to thoſe that are off at ſea.

December 9, we had likewiſe but little wind, as the day before. I ſuppoſed myſelf this day to be about thirteen leagues weſt from the iſland abovementioned. The weather was cloudy, with miſling rain, ſo that no obſervation could be taken. However, this day it was thought convenient to come to an allowance of water; for we had taken in little or none at Coquimbo. The ſame weather, or very like it, we had the next day, being the 10th; that is to ſay, quite calm and cloudy.

December the 11th, we had ſome ſmall rain the fore part of the day; but in the afternoon it cleared up, ſo that the weather was very hot. We had ſtill but little wind.

The next day, December the 12th, we had very fair weather, and by a clear obſervation made this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 6. S.

December

December the 13th, by a W. S. W. way, we made forty-two leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 30 deg. 45 S. D. M. four leagues and two thirds.

The 14th in the morning, we had a handſome ſhower of rain, which continued for ſome time; then about eight a clock there ſprung up a S. S. W. breeze. My reckoning was by an E. S. E. way fourteen leagues; and by obſervation, we found this day 30 deg. 30 S. In the afternoon died one of our men, whoſe name was William Cammock: his diſeaſe was occaſioned by a ſurfeit got by too much drinking on ſhore at la Serena, which produced a calenture, or malignant fever, and an hiccough. In the evening we buried him in the ſea, according to the uſual cuſtom of mariners, giving him three French vollies for his funeral.

The day following we had an indifferent freſh wind on both tacks. Our way was W. S. W. and by it we reckoned thirty-four leagues. So likewiſe by an obſervation we had lat. 30 deg. 42 S. All the afternoon blew a S. by W. wind very freſh, with a ſhort topping S. W. ſea.

But the next day we had no ſmall breezes, but rather hard guſts of wind; theſe grew ſo high, that they forced us to take in our top-ſails. We made a S. W. half S. way, and forty-five leagues.

On the 17th, we had likewiſe high winds, and withal a S. W. ſea. Our way was W. by S. By an obſervation taken this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 51 S. In the afternoon we had a S. S. E. wind, our courſe being S. W.

December the 18th. This day we had the ſame high winds as before, at S. S. E. We reckoned by a W. S. W. way forty-five leagues. At noon the wind was ſomething fallen, and then we had ſome rain.

The

The 19th, we had both cloudy and windy weather. My reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereupon fifty-eight miles. Yeſterday we were aſſured by our pilot, that we were now in the meridian of Juan Fernandez, whither our courſe was directed for the preſent. That which occaſioned him to be ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, was the ſeeing of thoſe great birds, of which we made mention in the foregoing chapter.

On the 20th, we had cloudy weather in the morning on both tacks. We made a S. W. and half S. way, and by it fifty-two leagues. By an obſervation we found this day lat. 32 deg. 30 S. difference of meridian was now 132 leagues.

The next day likewiſe we had cloudy weather; yet by an obſervation we found a W. way. On the 22d, by obſervation we found an E. way proved.

Thurſday, December the 23d. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind; but in the morning, from the top-maſt-head, we deſcried a hammock of land; in the evening we ſaw it again. We found afterwards that what we had ſeen, was the weſtermoſt iſland of Juan Fernandez; which is nothing but a mere rock, there being no riding, nor ſcarce landing near it.

Friday, December the 24th. This morning we could deſcry the iſland itſelf of Juan Fernandez, S. by E. it being at ſixteen leagues diſtance when we ſaw it the day before; at ſeven this morning the iſland ſtood E. the wind being at N. W. by N.

Here my obſervation was, that I could neither ſee fowl nor fiſh near this iſland; both which are uſual about other iſlands. Having told my obſervation to our pilot, he anſwered me, that he had made many voyages by this iſland, and yet never ſaw either fowl or fiſh. Our reckoning this day

was

was an E. S. E. way, and hereby thirty-ſix leagues. Our latitude by obſervation was found to be 33 deg. 30 S.

Saturday, December the 25th. The 24th, at three o'clock, we ſaw the other iſland, making two or three hammocks of land: this morning we were about eight leagues from it, the iſland bearing E. S. E. from us. At eight the ſame morning we were right a-breaſt with it. Here therefore are two iſlands together, the biggeſt whereof is three leagues and a half in length, neareſt N. W. and S. E. The other, and leſſer, is almoſt one league in circumference. At ten o'clock we ſent off from the ſhip one of our canoes, to ſeek for the beſt landing and anchoring for our veſſel: as we approached, both iſlands ſeemed to us but one entire heap of rocks: that which lies more to the north is the higheſt, though we could not ſee the tops thereof, for the clouds covered it; in moſt places it is ſo ſteep, that it becomes almoſt perpendicular.

This day, being Chriſtmas-day, we gave in the morning early three vollies of ſhot, for ſolemnization of that great feſtival. I reckoned an E. by S. way. By a clear obſervation from the middle of the iſland, I found here lat. 33 deg. 45 S. and M. D. to be ninety-nine leagues: in the evening we came to an anchor at the ſouth-end of the iſland, in a ſtately bay, but which lies open to the ſouth, and to the ſouth-eaſt winds: we anchored in the depth of ſeven fathom water, and at the diſtance of only one furlong from the ſhore. Here we ſaw multitudes of ſeals covering the bay every where, inſomuch, that we were forced to kill them, before we could ſet foot on ſhore.

Sunday, December the 26th. This day we ſent a canoe to ſee if we could find any riding ſecure from the ſoutherly winds; theſe being the moſt conſtant winds.

winds that blow on theſe coaſts: the cance being gone, our commander ſent likewiſe what men we could ſpare on ſhore, to drive goats, whereof there is great plenty in this iſland. They caught and killed that day to the number of threeſcore, or thereabouts. The canoe returning to the ſhip made report that there was good riding in another bay, ſituate on the north ſide of the iſland, in fourteen fathom water, and not above one quarter of a mile from the ſhore, and that there was much wood to be had; whereas, in the place where we firſt anchored, not one ſtick of wood, nor tuft of graſs was to be found.

The next day, being the 27th, between two and four in the morning, we had a tempeſt of violent winds, and fierce ſhowers of rain; the ſame day we got in two hundred jars of water, bringing them a full league from the place of our riding: mean while others were employed to catch goats, as they had done the day before.

On the 28th of the ſaid month, in the morning, I went with ten more of our company, and two canoes, to fetch water from the land: being come thither, and having filled our jars, we could not get back to the ſhip, by reaſon of a ſoutherly wind that blew from off the ocean, and hindered our return. Thus we were forced to lie ſtill in a water-hole, and wait till the wind was over for a ſafer opportunity. While the violence of the wind increaſed, our ſhip was forced to get under ſail, and make away, not without danger of being forced aſhore. Hereupon, we ſailed out of the harbour, to ſeek another place of anchoring: at noon I ventured out, to try if I could follow the ſhip, but was forced in again by the wind and raging ſea; thus we lay ſtill for ſome while longer, till the evening came on: this being come, we ventured out

again

again, both canoes together; but the winds were then ſo high, that we were forced to throw all our jars of water over-board to lighten our boats, otherwiſe we had inevitably periſhed. I ought to bleſs almighty God for this deliverance; for in all human reaſon, the leaſt wave of that tempeſt might have ſunk us: notwithſtanding, we came that night to our place of harbour, where we expected to have found our ſhip (called Falſe wild Harbour) but found her not; hereupon, not knowing what to do, we went aſhore, and hauled up our canoes dry. Having done this, we went higher up into the iſland, along a gully, for the ſpace of half a mile, there to clear ourſelves of the noiſe and company of the ſeals, which were very troubleſome on the ſhore. Here we kindled a fire, and dried our clothes, and reſted ourſelves all night, though with extreme hungry bellies, as having eaten very little or nothing all the day before. In the ſides of the hill, under which we lay, we obſerved many holes like coney-holes: theſe holes are the neſts and rooſting places of multitudes of birds that breed in this iſland, called by the Spaniards Pardelas. One of theſe birds, as we lay drying and warming ourſelves, fell down into our fire.

The next morning being come, very early before ſun-riſe, we went farther to the northward, to ſeek for our ſhip, which we feared we had loſt; but we were not gone far, when we eſpied her at ſea. Hereupon we paſſed a point of land, and entered a certain bay, which was about a mile deep, and not above half a league over: in this bay we put, and inſtantly made a fire, thereby to ſhew the ſhip whereabouts we were. Here we found good watering and wooding cloſe to the ſhore. In this bay we alſo ſaw another ſort of amphibious animal which I imagined to be the ſame, that by ſome authors

thors is called a ſea-lion: theſe animals are ſix times bigger than ſeals; their heads are like that of a lion, and they have four fins not unlike a tortoiſe: the hinder parts of theſe creatures are much like fins, but are drawn after them, as being uſeleſs upon the ſhore: they roared as if they had been lions, and were full of a ſhort thick hair, of a mouſe-colour; but that of the young ones was ſomething lighter: the old ones are between twelve and fourteen feet long, and about eleven or twelve feet in thickneſs or circumference. A ſeal is very eaſily killed, as we often experimented; but two of our men with great ſtones could not kill one of theſe animals.

That day in the afternoon there came a canoe from on board the ſhip, with proviſions for us, they fearing leſt we ſhould be ſtarved: alſo the launch came with men to cut wood. They told us that the ſhip came to an anchor in the other bay, but that within half an hour the cable broke, and they were forced to leave their anchor behind them, and get out to ſea again: night being come, we made our beds of fern, whereof there is great plenty upon this iſland; together with great multitudes of trees like Engliſh box, the which bore a ſort of green berries, ſmelling like pimento or pepper. All this day the ſhip was forced to ply off at ſea, not being able to get in.

December the 30th. The morning of this day we employed in filling water, and cutting down wood: but in the afternoon, eight of us eleven went aboard the ſhip, all in one and the ſame canoe, ſending her aſhore again with proviſions for the men that were there. This day in like manner we could not get into the harbour, for no ſooner came the ſhip within land, but the wind coming out of the bay, blew us clear out again: thus we

were

were forced to ply out all that night, and great part of the following day.

Next day, having overcome all difficulties and many dangers, we came to an anchor in the afternoon, in fifteen fathom water, at the diſtance of a cable's length from ſhore. Here it was obſervable, that we were forced to keep men aſhore on purpoſe to beat off the ſeals, while our men filled water, at high water mark, becauſe the ſeals covet greatly to lie in freſh water. About this iſland fiſh is ſo plentiful, that in leſs than an hour's time two men caught enough for our whole company.

Saturday, January 1ſt, 168⅁. This day we put up a new main top, larger than the old one; and we caught craw-fiſh that were bigger than our Engliſh lobſters.

The next day, being January the 2d, died a chief man of our company, whoſe name was John Hilliard: this man, till our weighing anchor from the port of Coquimbo, had been our maſter all the ſpace of this voyage; but from that time we choſe John Cox for the ſtar-board, and John Fall for the lar-board watch: he died of the dropſy. That evening we buried our dead companion, and gave him a volley for his funeral, according to the uſual cuſtom.

January the 3d, we had terrible guſts of wind from the ſhore every hour: this day our pilot told us, that many years ago a certain ſhip was caſtaway upon this iſland, and only one man ſaved, who lived alone upon this iſland five years before any ſhip came this way to carry him off. The iſland has excellent land in many valleys belonging thereto: this day likewiſe we fetched our anchor which we left in the other bay, when the ſhip broke her cable.

Tueſday, January the 4th, 1680. This day we had ſuch terrible flaws of wind, that the cable of our ſhip

ſhip broke, and we had undoubtedly been on ſhore, had not the other held us faſt: at laſt it came home, and we drove outwards: by the way it caught hold of a rock, and held ſome time, but at laſt we hauled it up, and the wind came with ſo much violence, that the waves flew as high as our main-top, and made all the water of a foam.

January the 5th. Notwithſtanding theſe great guſts of wind had continued all the night paſt, yet this day at noon it was brave and calm. But in the morning the anchor of our ſhip gave way again, and we drove to the eaſtward more than half a mile, till at laſt we happened to faſten again in the depth of ſixty fathom water. In this bay, where we rid at anchor, ran a violent current, ſometimes into, and at other times out of the bay; ſo that all was uncertain with us: but our greateſt diſcomfort was, that our men were all in mutiny againſt each other, and much divided among themſelves: ſome of them being for going home towards England, or our foreign plantations, and that round about America through the ſtreights of Magellan, as captain Sawkins had deſigned to do; others of them being for ſtaying longer, and ſearching farther into thoſe ſeas, till ſuch time as they had got more money. This day at noon our anchor drove again; whereupon, to ſecure us from that dangerous place, we ſailed into the weſt bay, and anchored there in twenty-five fathom water, and moored our ſhip a quarter of a mile from ſhore.

Thurſday, January the 6th. Our diſſenſions being now grown to a great height, the mutineers made a new election of a perſon to be our chief captain and commander, by virtue whereof they depoſed captain Sharp, whom they proteſted they would obey no longer: they choſe therefore one of our company, whoſe name was John Watling, to command

command in chief, he having been an old privateer, and gained the eſteem of being a ſtout ſeaman. The election being made, all the reſt were forced to give their aſſent to it, and captain Sharp gave over his command, whereupon they immediately made articles with Watling, and ſigned them.

The day following, being the 7th, we burnt and tallowed the ſtar-board ſide of our ſhip. In this bay we found a croſs cut in the bark of a tree, and ſeveral letters beſides: hereupon, in another tree up the gully, I engraved the two firſt letters of my name, with a croſs over them. This day likewiſe William Cook, ſervant to captain Edmund Cook, confeſſed that his maſter had oftentimes buggered him in England, leaving his wife and coming to bed to him; that he had alſo done the ſame in Jamaica; and once in theſe ſeas before Panama. Searching his writings, we found a paper with all our names in it, which it was ſuſpected he deſigned to have given to the Spaniſh priſoners: for theſe reaſons, this evening our captain thought it convenient to put him in irons, which was accordingly done. January the 8th, we finiſhed the other ſide of our ſhip.

Sunday, January the 9th. This was the firſt Sunday that ever we kept by command and common conſent, ſince the loſs and death of our valiant commander captain Sawkins, who would throw the dice over-board, if he found them in uſe on that day.

January the 10th, the weather was very clear and ſettled again: we caught every day, in this bay, great plenty of fiſh; and I ſaw this day a ſhoal of fiſh a mile and more long.

Next day, being the 11th, we filled our water, and carried our wood on board the ſhip. Our two canoes went to the other ſide of the iſland to catch

catch goats; for on the barren ſide thereof are found and caught the beſt: and by land it is impoſſible to go from one ſide of the iſland to the other.

Wedneſday, January the 12th. This morning our canoes returned from catching of goats, firing of guns as they came towards us to give us warning: being come on board, they told us they had eſpied three ſail of ſhips, which they conceived to be men of war coming about the iſland. Within half an hour after this notice given by our boats, the ſhips came in ſight to leeward of the iſland; hereupon we immediately ſlipt our cables, and put to ſea taking all our men on board that were aſhore at that time; only one William, a Moſquito Indian, was then left behind upon the iſland, becauſe he could not be found at this our ſudden departure. Upon the iſland of Juan Fernandez grow certain trees called bilby-trees; the tops of theſe trees we uſed as we do cabbage in England: here fiſh abounds in ſuch quantities, that on the ſurface of the water, I have taken fiſh with a bare hook: abundance of fiſh is taken here of 20 pounds weight; the ſmalleſt that is taken being almoſt two pounds: very good timber for building of houſes, and other uſes, is likewiſe found upon this iſland. It is diſtant from the main continent the ſpace of ninety-five leagues, or thereabouts, being ſituate in 33 deg. 40 S. The plats of the iſlands lie N. W. and S. E.

Being got out of the bay, we ſtood off to ſea, and kept to windward as cloſe as we could. The biggeſt of theſe Spaniſh men of war, for ſuch they proved to be, was of the burthen of 800 tons, and was called El Santo Chriſto, being mounted with 2 guns: the ſecond, named San Franciſco, carried 00 tons, and 10 guns: the third carried 350 tons,

tons, whoſe name I have forgot. As ſoon as they ſaw us, they inſtantly put out their bloody flags; and we, to ſhew them that we were not as yet daunted, did the ſame with ours: we kept cloſe under the wind, and were, to confeſs the truth, very unwilling to fight them, by reaſon they kept all in a knot together, and we could not ſingle out any one of them from the reſt; eſpecially conſidering, that our preſent commander Watling had ſhewed himſelf at their appearance to be faint-hearted. As for the Spaniards themſelves, they might have eaſily come to us, by reaſon we lay by ſeveral times; but undoubtedly they were cowardly given, and peradventure as unwilling to engage us, as we were to engage them.

The day following, being January the 13th, in the morning, we could ſee one of the afore-mentioned men of war, under the leeward ſide of the iſland; and we believed that the reſt were at anchor thereabouts.

At noon that day we ſtood in towards the iſland, making as if we intended to be with them; but in the afternoon our commander propounded the queſtion to us, Whether we were willing, now that they fleet was to windward, to bear away from them? to this we all agreed with one conſent: and hereupon, night being come, with a freſh wind at S. S. E we ſtood away N. E. by N. and gave them handſomely the ſhip, after having out braved them that day, and the day before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Bucaniers depart from the iſle of Juan Fernandez to that of Yqueque. They take ſeveral priſoners, and get intelligence of the poſture of affairs at Arica. Cruelty to one of the priſoners, who had rightly informed them. They attempt Arica a ſecond time, and take the town, but are beaten out of it again without plunder, and with a great loſs of men, many of them being killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. Captain Watling their chief commander is killed in this attack, and captain Sharp preſently choſen again, who leads them off, and through many difficulties makes a bold retreat to the ſhip.

HAVING bid our enemies adieu, as was ſaid in the precedent chapter, the next morning being January the 14th, we bore N. E. We reckoned this day a N. N. E. one quarter S. way, and by it, thirty leagues. We were four leagues eaſtward from the iſle of Juan Fernandez, when I took our departure.

Saturday, January the 15th, we had hazy weather: this day we made by a N. E. by N. way, eleven leagues. The ſame hazy weather continued the 16th; but about ten in the morning we had a perfect calm: our reckoning was a N. E. by N. way, and thirty-ſix leagues.

On the 17th, we had a ſoft gale, and a clear obſervation; we found by it lat. 28 deg. 47 S. eaſting ſeventy leagues. The next day we had likewiſe a clear day, and we reckoned by a N. E. by N. way, thirty-one leagues; by obſervation lat. 27 deg. 29 S.

Wedneſday, January the 19th, we had a clear

day, as before, and reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and thirty-five leagues and two thirds; by obſervation we took lat. 25 deg. o S. This day we put up our top-gallant maſts and ſails, which we had taken at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, when we thought to have gone directly from thence for the ſtreights of Magellan. But now our reſolutions were changed, and our courſe was bent for Arica, that rich place, the ſecond time, to try what good we could do upon it by another attempt, in order to the making our fortunes there: in the evening we ſaw land at a great diſtance.

January the 20th. About midnight paſt we had a ſmall land wind that ſprang up and reached us; at break of day we could deſcry land again, at the diſtance of about nine or ten leagues. This day was very hot and calm, eaſting ninety-two leagues.

On the 21ſt, we had very little wind, and all along as we went we could deſcry a barren high land. We ſailed N. by E. and N. N. E. along the coaſt of the continent.

Saturday the 22d, we had very hot weather: this day we ſailed N. and N. by E. and looked out continually for the iſland of Yqueque, which our pilot told us was hereabouts: we kept a juſt diſtance from the land, for fear of being deſcried by the enemy.

The day following, Sunday the 23d, we ſailed in like manner N. N. E. along the coaſt, which ſeems to be very full of bays hereabouts. By obſervation this day we took lat. 21 deg. 49 S.

Monday, January the 24th. This day we had an indifferent gale of wind, and we ſtood N. and by E. the wind being S. S. E. We found latitude by obſervation 21 deg 2 S. our whole caſting being nine-two leagues and an half. In the afternoon captain Watling our commander, and twenty-five men.

men more, departed from the ſhip in two canoes, with deſign to ſeek for and take the iſland of Yqueque, and there to get intelligence of the poſture of affairs at Arica: we were at the diſtance of twelve leagues from ſhore, when they went from the ſhip.

The next day, by a clear obſervation, we found lat. 20 deg. 40 S. At four in the afternoon returned one of our canoes, bringing word that they could not find the iſland, though they had ſearched for it very diligently. At night came the other, being brought back by a wrong ſign given us by the firſt canoe. This ſecond canoe had landed upon the continent, and there found a track, the which they followed for ſome ſpace: here we found a dead whale, with whoſe bones the ſpaniards had built a hut, and ſet up a croſs; there lay alſo many pieces of broken jars. They obſerved likewiſe, that hereabouts, upon the coaſts, are many bays, good landing and anchoring for ſhips. That evening, about ſeven o'clock, a freſh gang went from the ſhip to ſeek the ſame iſland; mean while we lay becalmed all night, driving about a league to leeward.

Wednesday, January the 26th, we had extreme hot weather: this day the Spaniſh pilot told us, that on the continent over againſt us, a very little way within the land, are very rich mines of ſilver; but that the Spaniards dared not open them, for fear of an invaſion from the enemy. We ſailed north, at the diſtance of about two leagues from ſhore: at noon we had an obſervation, and found lat. 20 deg. 21 S. At four o'clock we ſaw a ſmoke made by our men, cloſe by a white cliff, which proved to be the iſland. Hereupon, we immediately ſent away another canoe with more men, to ſupply them in their attempts: but in the mean while the firſt ca-

noe, which left us in the evening before, came aboard, bringing with them four priſoners, two old white men, and two Indians.

The other canoe, which ſet out laſt, brought back molaſſes, fiſh, and two jars of wine. To windward of the ſaid iſland is a ſmall village of eighteen or twenty houſes, having a ſmall chapel near it, built of ſtone, and for ornament ſake, it is ſtuck full of hides, or ſkins of ſeals. They found about fifty people in this hamlet, but the greateſt part of them made their eſcape at the arrival of the canoe. To this iſland barks frequently come from Arica (which is but at a little diſtance) to fetch clay, of which they have already carried away a conſiderable quantity. The poor Indians, natives of this iſland, are forced to bring all the freſh water they uſe full eleven leagues from thence, that is, from a river named Camarones, to leeward of the iſland. The bark wherein they uſed to bring it, was then gone for water, when our men landed upon the place. The ſurface of this iſland is all over white, but the bowels are of a reddiſh ſort of earth. From the ſhore is ſeen a great path leading over the mountains into the country. The Indians of this iſland love to eat a ſort of leaves that are in taſte much like our bay leaves in England; inſomuch that their teeth are died of a green colour, by the continual uſe thereof. The inhabitants go ſtark naked, and are a very robuſt and ſtrong people; notwithſtanding they live more like beaſts than men.

Thurſday, January the 27th. This morning, on board the ſhip, we examined one of the old men who were taken priſoners upon the iſland the day before; but finding him in many lyes, as we thought, concerning Arica, our commander ordered him to be ſhot to death, which was accordingly done.

done. Our old commander, captain Sharp, was much troubled in his mind, and diſſatisfied at this cruelty and raſh proceeding; whereupon he oppoſed it as much as he could; but ſeeing he could not prevail, he took water and waſhed his hands, ſaying, 'Gentlemen, I am clear of the blood of this 'old man; and I will warrant you a hot day for this 'piece of cruelty, whenever we come to fight at 'Arica'; which fell out accordingly, as you will ſee hereafter.

The other old man being under examination, informed us, that the iſland of Yqueque before-mentioned belonged to the governor of Arica, who was proprietor thereof; and that he allowed theſe men a little wine, and other neceſſaries, to live upon for their ſuſtenance. That he himſelf had the ſuperintendance of forty or fifty of the governor's ſlaves, who caught fiſh and dried it, for the profit of the ſaid governor; and he ſold it afterwards to the inland towns, and reaped a conſiderable benefit thereby. That by a letter received from Arica, eight days ago, they underſtood there was then in the harbour of Arica three ſhips from Chili, and one bark. That they had raiſed there a fortification mounted with twelve copper guns; but that when we were there before, they had conveyed out of the town to the neighbouring ſtations, all their plate, gold, and jewels, burying it in the ground, and otherwiſe concealing it; which, whether it were now brought again or not, he could not tell. That there were two great places, the one at ten, the other at twenty-five leagues diſtance from Arica, where lay all their ſtrength and treaſure. That the day before had paſſed a poſt to declare our having been at Coquimbo. That the embargo laid on all veſſels going to the northward was now taken off; ſo that a free paſſage was allowed them. That by

land it was impoſſible to go from hence to Arica in leſs than four or five days, foraſmuch as they muſt carry water for themſelves and horſes for the whole journey. Laſtly, that thoſe arms that were brought from Lima to Arica, as was mentioned above, were now carried from thence to Buenos Ayres. All theſe things pleaſed us mighty well. But however, captain Sharp was ſtill much diſſatisfied at our ſhooting the old man: for he had given us a very true information, namely, that Arica was very well fortified, and much better than before; but our misfortune was, that we looked upon his information as a trick only.

The leaves of which we made mention above, are brought down to this iſland in whole bales, and then diſtributed to the Indians by a ſhort allowance given to each man. This day we had very hot weather and a S. W. ſea. By obſervation we found latitude 20 deg. 13 S. Beſides the things above-mentioned, our priſoners informed us, that at Arica the Spaniards had built a breaſt-work round about the town, and one alſo in every ſtreet, that in caſe one end of it were taken, they might be able to defend the other. We ſtood off and in for the greateſt part of the day. In the afternoon we were eight leagues and a half from ſhore, with a freſh wind. That morning we took the bark that was at the river of Camarones to fill water for the iſland.

Friday, January the 28th. Laſt night about midnight we left the ſhip, and put ourſelves aboard the bark before-mentioned, the launch, and four canoes with deſign to take Arica by ſurprizal. We rowed and ſailed all night, making in for the ſhore.

Saturday, January the 29th. About break of day we got under ſhore, and there hid ourſelves among the rocks all day, fearing leſt we ſhould be deſcried by the enemy before we came to Arica. At this time

time we were about five leagues to ſouthward of it, near Quebrada de San Vitor. Night being come, we rowed away from thence.

Sunday, January the 30th, 1680. This day, in the morning about ſun-riſe, we landed amongſt ſome rocks, at the diſtance of four miles, or thereabout, to the ſouthward from Arica. We put on ſhore in all ninety-two men, the reſt remaining in the boats to keep and defend them from being ſurprized by the enemy, to the intent we might leave behind us a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity. With theſe men we left ſtrict orders, that if we made one ſmoke from the town or adjoining fields, they ſhould come after us towards the harbour of Arica with one canoe; but in caſe we made two, that they ſhould bring all away, leaving only fifteen men in the boats. As we marched from our landing-place towards the town, we mounted a very ſteep hill, and ſaw from thence no men, nor forces of the enemy; which cauſed us to hope we were not as yet deſcried, and that we ſhould wholly ſurprize them. But when we were come about half way to the town, we ſpied three horſemen, who mounted the Look-out hill; and ſeeing us upon our march, they rid down full ſpeed to the city, to give notice of our approach. Our commander, Watling, choſe out forty of our number to attack the fort, and ſent us away firſt thitherwards, the reſt being deſigned for the town. We that were appointed for the fort, had ten hand-grenadoes among us, when we gave the aſſault, and with them, as well as with our other arms, we attacked the caſtle, and exchanged ſeveral ſhot with our enemies. But at laſt, ſeeing our main body in danger of being over-borne with the number of our enemies, we gave over that attempt on the fort, and ran down in all haſte to the valley to help and aſſiſt

them in the fight. Here the battle was very deſperate, and they killed three, and wounded two more of our men from their outworks before we could gain upon them. But our rage increaſing with our wounds, we ſtill advanced, and at laſt beat the enemy out of all, and filled every ſtreet in the city with dead bodies. The enemy made ſeveral retreats to ſeveral places, from one breaſt-work to another, and we had not a ſufficient number of men wherewithal to man all places taken. Inſomuch, that we had no ſooner beat them out of one place, but they came another way, and manned it again with new forces and freſh men.

We took in every place where we vanquiſhed the enemy, a great number of priſoners, more indeed, than peradventure we ought to have done, or we knew well what to do withal; they being too many for ſuch a ſmall body as ours was to manage. Theſe priſoners informed us, that we had been deſcried no leſs than three days before from the iſland of Yqueque, whereby they were in expectation of our arrival every hour, knowing we had ſtill a deſign to make a ſecond attempt upon that place. That into the city were come 400 ſoldiers from Lima, the which, beſides their own, had brought 700 arms for the uſe of the country people, and that in the town they had 600 armed men, and in the fort 300.

Being now in poſſeſſion of the city, or the greateſt part thereof, we ſent to the fort, commanding them to ſurrender: but they would not ſend us any anſwer. Hereupon we advanced towards it, and gave it a ſecond attack, wherein we perſiſted very vigorouſly for a long time. Being not able to carry it, we got upon the top of a houſe that ſtood near it, and from thence fired down into the fort, killing many of their men, and wounding them at our eaſe and pleaſure. But while we were buſied in this attack, the

reſt

reſt of the enemy's forces had taken again ſeveral poſts of the town, and began to ſurround us in great numbers, with deſign to cut us off. Hereupon we were conſtrained to deſiſt the ſecond time, as before, from aſſaulting the fort, and make head againſt them. This we had no ſooner done, but their numbers and vigour increaſing every moment, we found ourſelves to be overpowered, and conſequently we thought it convenient to retreat to the place where our wounded men were under the hands of our ſurgeons, that is to ſay, our hoſpital. At this time our new commander, captain Watling, both our quarter-maſters, and a great many more of our men were killed, beſides thoſe that were wounded and diſabled from fighting. So that now the enemy rallying againſt us, and beating us from place to place, we were in a very diſtracted condition, and in more likelihood to periſh every man than eſcape the bloodineſs of that day. Now we found the words of captain Sharp true, being all very ſenſible that we had a day too hot for us, after that cruel heat in killing and murdering in cold blood the old Meſtiſo Indian, whom we had taken priſoner at Yqueque, as we mentioned before.

Being ſurrounded with difficulties on all ſides, and in great diſorder, having no body to give orders what was to be done, we were glad to have our eyes upon our good old commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp, and beg of him very earneſtly to commiſerate our condition, and carry us off. It was a great while before he would take any notice of our requeſt; ſo much was he diſpleaſed with the former mutiny of our people againſt him, all which had been occaſioned by the inſtigation of Mr. Cook. But Sharp is a man of an undaunted courage, and excellent conduct, not fearing the leaſt to look an inſulting enemy in the face, and a perſon that knows

both the theory and practice of navigation as well as moſt do. Hereupon at our earneſt requeſt and petition he took upon him the command in chief again, and began to diſtribute his orders for our ſafety. He would have brought off our ſurgeons, but they having been drinking while we aſſaulted the fort, would not come with us when they were called. They killed and took of our number twenty-eight men, beſides eighteen that we brought off, who were deſperately wounded. At this time we were all extreme faint for want of water and victuals, whereof we had none all that day; we were likewiſe almoſt choaked with the duſt of the town, being ſo much raiſed by the work that their guns had made, that we could ſcarce ſee each other. They beat us out of the town, and then followed us into the Savannas, or open fields, ſtill charging as faſt as they could. But when they ſaw that we rallied again, reſolved to die one by another, they ran from us into the town, and ſheltered themſelves under their breaſt-works. Thus we retreated in as good order as we poſſibly could obſerve in that confuſion. But their horſemen followed us as we retired, and fired at us all the way, though they would not come within the reach of our guns, for theirs reached farther than ours, and out-ſhot us above one third. We took the ſea ſide for our greater ſecurity; which when the enemy ſaw, they betook themſelves to the hills, rolling down great ſtones, and whole rocks to deſtroy us. Mean while thoſe of the town examined our ſurgeons, and other men whom they had made priſoners. Theſe gave them our ſigns that we had left to our boats that were behind us, ſo that they immediately blew up two fires, which were perceived by the canoes. This was the greateſt of our dangers. For had we not come at that inſtant that we did to the ſea ſide, our boats had been gone, they being already under ſail,

ſail, and we had inevitably periſhed every man. Thus we put off from the ſhore, and got on board about ten at night, having been involved in a bloody fight with the enemy all that day.

CHAP. XVII.

A deſcription of the bay of Arica. They ſail from hence to the port of Guaſco, where they get proviſions. Deſcription of the ſaid port. They land again at Hilo to revenge the former affronts, and took what they could find.

OUR attempt at Arica being over, January ult. we plied to and fro in the ſight of the port, to ſee if they would ſend out the three ſhips we had ſeen in the harbour to fight us: for upon them we hoped to revenge the defeat and diſappointment we had received at the town the day before. But our expectations in this point alſo were fruſtrated, for not one of thoſe veſſels offered to ſtir.

The houſes of this town of Arica are not above eleven feet high, as being built of earth, and not of brick or timber. The town itſelf is four-ſquare, and at one corner ſtands the caſtle, which may eaſily be commanded, even with ſmall arms, from the hill which lies cloſe to it. This place is the embarcadero, or port-town of all the mineral towns that lie hereabouts, and hence is fetched all the plate that is carried to Lima, the head city of Peru.

On Tueſday, February the 1ſt, we had a clear obſervation, and by it we found lat. 19 deg. 6 S. This day we ſhared the old remains of our plate taken in ſome of our former booties. Our ſhares amounted only to thirty-ſeven pieces of eight each man.

N. B. *Here I would have my reader to take notice, that from this day forwards I kept no conſtant* Diary *or* Journal, *as I had done before, at leaſt for ſome conſiderable ſpace of time, as you ſhall ſee hereafter: my diſeaſe and ſickneſs at ſea being the occaſion of intermitting what I had never failed to do in all the courſe of this voyage till now; only ſome few* memorandums, *as my weakneſs gave leave, I now and then committed to paper, the which I ſhall give you as I find them, towards the continuance of this hiſtory, Thus:*

Monday, February the 14th. This night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, William Cook died on board our ſhip, who was ſervant to captain Edmund Cook, of whom mention hath been made in this journal: he deſiſted not, even at his laſt, to accuſe his maſter of [illegible] him, as before was related: moreover, that his maſter ſhould ſay, 'It was no 'ſin to ſteal from us, who thought it none to rob the 'Spaniards.'

February the 16th, 1680. This day we found ourſelves in lat. 27 deg. 30 ſouth. We had a conſtant breeze at S. E. and S. S. E. till we got about 200 leagues from land; then at the eclipſe of the moon, we had a calm for two or three days, and then a breeze at north for two days; after which we had a calm again for two or three days more.

March the 1ſt, we found latitude by obſervation 34 deg. 1 ſouth. At this time begins the dirty weather in theſe ſeas. We lay under a pair of courſes, the wind being at S. E. and E. S. E. with a very great ſea at S. S. E.

March the 3d, all hands were called up, and a council held; wherein, conſidering it was now dirty weather, and late in the year, we bore up the helm, and reſolved to go to the main for water, and thence to leeward, and ſo march over land towards home, or at leaſt to the north ſea: but God diverted us from

from following this reſolution, as you ſhall hear hereafter: we being thus determined that day, we ſtood N. E. with a ſtrong wind at S. E. and E. S. E.

March the 5th, died our Coquimbo Indian. The 7th we had a weſt wind, our courſe being E. by N. The 8th of the ſaid month we were put to an allowance, having only one cake of bread a day. March the 10th, we had a ſtrong ſouth ind.

March the 12th, we fell in with the main land; ſomething to leeward of Coquimbo, within the iſland of Paxaros, are double lands, in whoſe valleys are fires for melting of copper, with which metal theſe hills abound. Off to ſea board is a rocky land, and within ſandy. About the diſtance of eight leagues to leeward is a rocky point with ſeveral keys or rocks about it: about half a mile to leeward of this point turns in the port of Guaſco; right againſt the anchoring are three rocks cloſe under the ſhore.

Being arrived here, we landed threeſcore men of our company, with deſign to get proviſions, or any thing we could purchaſe. The people of the country ran all away as ſoon as they ſaw us. There was building on the ſhore, in this port, a fire bark of ſixteen or eighteen tons burthen, with a cock-boat belonging to it. We took one Indian priſoner, and with him went up the ſpace of ſix or ſeven miles into the country, to an Indian town of three or fourſcore houſes; from thence we came back to the church, which is about four miles from the ſea ſide, and lodged there all night. Here are multitudes of good ſheep and goats in the country adjoining to this port, and it is watered with an excellent freſh water river; but the getting of water is very difficult, the banks being very high, or otherwiſe inacceſſible: however, we made a ſhift to get in five hundred jars of water; furthermore, we brought away one hundred

dred-and-twenty ſheep, and fourſcore goats, with which ſtock we victualled our veſſel for a while: as for oxen, they had driven them away farther up into the country. The juriſdiction of Guaſco itſelf is governed by a teniente or deputy governor, and a friar, and is in ſubjection to the city of la Serena above-mentioned, as having a dependence thereupon: here grows both corn, peaſe, beans, and ſeveral other ſorts of grain; and for fruits, this place is not inferior to Coquimbo. Here we found likewiſe a mill to grind corn, and about two hundred buſhels thereof ready ground, the which we conveyed on board our ſhip. Every houſe of any account hath branches of water running through their yards or court. The inhabitants had hid their wine, and the beſt of their goods, as plate and jewels, having deſcried us at ſea before our landing; ſo that our booty here, beſides proviſions, was inconſiderable: however, we caught ſome few fowls, and eat five or ſix ſheep, and likewiſe a great hog which taſted very like our Engliſh pork. The hills are all barren, ſo that the country that beareth fruit, is only an excellent valley, being four times as broad as that of Hilo above-mentioned. Theſe people of Guaſco ſerve the town of Coquimbo with many ſorts of proviſions. We gave the Indian, whom we had taken, his liberty, and I took the port of Guaſco thus.

Tueſday, March the 15th, 1680. This morning we departed from the port of Guaſco afore-mentioned, with very little wind, having done nothing conſiderable there, except only the taking in the few proviſions above related: we were bent therefore to ſeek greater matters, having met with ill ſucceſs in moſt of our attempts hitherto.

We had now very dark weather all along the coaſt. March the 21ſt, we were weſt from the bay of Mexellones:

Mexellones: the point of this bay, one league upwards, repreſents a ſugar-loaf exactly.

March the 22d. This day our boats and canoes went from the ſhip, being well manned, to find the river Loa; they went alſo about two leagues to leeward of it, to a fiſhing village, but could find no place fit for landing, whereupon they returned without doing any thing: the next day another canoe of our company went out upon the ſame exploit, but found the ſame ſucceſs: notwithſtanding, here Sir Francis Drake watered, and built a church, as we were told by our pilot. This church is now ſtanding on the ſea-ſide by the river, whoſe mouth is now dry. There are ſeveral huts to the windward of it; and from the ſaid church or chapel goes a great path up the hills, which lead to Pica.

Thurſday, March the 24th, we found latitude by obſervation 20 deg. 10 ſouth. This day alſo we ſaw land at about eighteen leagues diſtance.

Sunday, March the 27th, we ſaw Mora de Sama and La Cumba at ſome diſtance. The ſame day we had an obſervation, and found it lat. 18 deg. 17 ſouth. That evening we parted from the ſhip with our boats and canoes towards the coaſt of Hilo, upon which we now were: we landed and took the village of Hilo undeſcried, they ſcarce ſuſpecting we could have any deſign upon that place a ſecond time: we caught the friar who was chaplain to the town, and moſt of the inhabitants aſleep, making them priſoners of war. Here we heard a flying report, as if five thouſand Engliſh had taken Panama a ſecond time, and were in poſſeſſion of it. But this rumour proved to be a falſity, as it then ſeemed. At this time the river came out, and was overflown, it being near the time of the freſhes. Here the priſoners told us, that in Arica ten of our men were ſtill alive, whereof three were ſurgeons, all the reſt being dead

of

of their wounds. The Spaniards ſent word to Hilo, that we had killed them ſeventy men, and wounded three times as many of their forces. But here the inhabitants ſaid, that of forty-five men ſent to the relief of Arica from hence, there came home only two alive. We filled what water we pleaſed here; but a ſmall boat that we brought from Guaſco broke looſe from us, and was ſtaved to pieces on the rocks. Here we took eighteen jars of wine, and good ſtore of new figs. On Tueſday following we went up to the ſugar-work mentioned in our former expedition againſt Hilo, and found all the fruits juſt ripe, and fit for eating: there we landed ſeven mules downwards with molaſſes and ſugar. The inhabitants told us further, that thoſe men who came to fight us when we were here the firſt time, were moſt of them boys, and had only fifty fire arms amongſt them: they being commanded by an Engliſh gentleman, who is married to Arequiqua. Likewiſe that the owner of the ſugar-work before-mentioned was now engaged in a ſuit of law againſt the town of Hilo, pretending it was not the Engliſh who robbed him, and ſpoiled his ingenio, when we were there before, but the townſmen themſelves. This day in the evening we ſailed for Hilo with dark weather, and little wind, which continued for ſeveral days afterwards.

CHAP. XVIII.

They depart from the port of Hilo to the gulf of Nicoya, where they take down their decks, and mend the sailing of their ship. Forty-seven of their companions leave them, and go home over land. A description of the gulf of Nicovo; they take two barks and some prisoners there. Several other remarks belonging to this voyage.

FROM the time that we set sail from the port of Hilo, till Sunday, April the 10th, 1681, nothing happened to us that might be accounted remarkable; neither did I take any notes all this while, by reason of my indisposition afore-mentioned. This day we could hear distinctly the breaking of the seas upon the shore, but could see no land, the weather being extreme dark and hazy. Notwithstanding about noon it cleared up, and we found ourselves to be in the bay called de Malabrigo: the land in this bay runs due east and west. By an observation made this day, we found 6 deg. 35 south. We saw from hence the leeward island of Labos, or Seals, being nothing but a rocky craggy place. On the S. W. side thereof is a red hill, much frequented by the Indian fishermen. It is situate in lat. 6 deg. 15 S. This day likewise in the evening we saw the point called Aguja.

On Saturday, April the 16th, we came within a league distance of the west end of the island of Plate above described. The next day, being Sunday, April the 17th, 1681, our mutineers broke out again into an open dissension, they having been much dissatisfied all along this voyage, but more especially since our unfortunate fight at Arica, and never entirely reconciled to us since they chose

Captain

captain Watling, and depoſed Sharp at the iſle of Juan Fernandez, as was related above. Nothing now could appeaſe them, nor ſerve their turn, but a ſeparation from the reſt of the company, and leaving us. Hereupon, this day they left the ſhip, to the number of forty-ſeven men, all in company together, with deſign to go over land, by the ſame way they came into thoſe ſeas. The reſt, who remained behind, did fully reſolve, and faithfully promiſe to each other, that they would ſtick cloſe together. They took five ſlaves in their company, to guide and do them other ſervice in that journey. This day we had 1 deg. 30 minutes ſouthern latitude. We ſailed N. N. W. before the wind.

Next day after their departure, April the 18th we began to work about taking down one of our upper decks, thereby to cauſe our ſhip ſtill to mend her ſailing. We now made a N. W. by N. way; and had lat. by obſervation 25 north, the wind being at S. W.

April the 19th, we made a N. W. by N. way. This day our obſervation was lat. 2 deg. 45 north. In the afternoon we had cloudy weather. The following day likewiſe we made the ſame way, and by it ſeventy miles, according to my reckoning.

The 21ſt in the morning we had ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain, and but little wind. We ſaw ſome turtle upon the ſurface of the water, and great quantity of fiſh. We caught twenty-ſix ſmall dolphins. By a N. W. by N. way, we reckoned this day forty miles.

April 22d. This day we caught ſeven large dolphins, and one bonito. We ſaw likewiſe whole multitudes of turtles ſwimming upon the water, and took five of them. We had an obſervation that gave us lat. 5 deg. 28 N. Hereabouts runs a great ſtrong current. This day we lowered the

quarter

quarter deck of our ſhip, and made it even with the upper deck.

The day following we had but ſmall wind, and yet great ſhowers of rain; hereupon every man ſaved water for himſelf; and a great quantity was ſaved for the whole company. In the morning we caught eight bonito's, and in the evening ten more.

April the 24th, we had both cloudy and rainy weather. By an obſervation we had lat. 7 deg. 37 N. Meridian difference was ninety-two leagues. This morning we caught forty bonito's, and in the evening thirty more. In the afternoon we ſtood north, the wind being at S. W. by S.

Monday, April the 25th. All the night before we had large guſts of wind and rain. At break of day we were cloſe in with land, which, upon examination, proved to be the iſland of Cano. To weſtward thereof is very high land. About noon this day it cleared up, and we had lat. 8 deg. 34 N. In the evening we ſent a canoe to ſearch the iſland: in it they found good water, and even ground, but withal an open road. At night we ſtood off the firſt watch, and the laſt we had a land wind.

The day following, at day-light, we ſtood in, and about noon we came to an anchor at the eaſt ſide of the iſland afore-mentioned, which is not above one league over. In the afternoon we removed from our former anchoring-place, and anchored again within ſhot of the N. E. point of the iſland. All over this iſle grow abundance of cocoa-trees. On the north ſide thereof are many rivulets of good water to be found in ſandy bays. We ſaw ſome good hogs on ſhore, whereof we killed one, and two pigs. Here are great numbers of turtle-doves, and huge ſtore of fiſh, but withal very ſhy to be caught.

April

April the 27th, we had ſome rain and wind the fore-part of the day; but the afternoon was fair. The next day, in like manner, we had great quantity of rain. On Saturday the 30th, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, we weighed from the aforeſaid iſland with little wind, and ſtood N. W. That day fell much rain, with great thunder and lightning.

Monday, May the 2d. This day we obſerved and found lat. 9 deg. N. The coaſt all along appeared to us very high and mountainous, and ſcarce ſix hours did paſs but we had thunder, lightning, and rain. The like continued for the two days following.

May the 5th, we had an indifferent fair day; and at evening we were right off the gulf of Nicoya.

Friday, May the 6th. This morning we ſaw the cape very plain before us: N. by E. from it, are certain keys at eight leagues diſtance, cloſe under the main. We ſteered N. N. W. towards the biggeſt of them; at whoſe E. S. E. ſide are two or three ſmall rocks. The main eaſtward is fine ſavanna, or plain and even land, through which goes a very great road, which is to be ſeen off at ſea. At noon the port of Calderõ, commonly called Puerto Caldero, bore N. from us; at which time the ebb forced us to ſound in the middle of the gulf, where we found fourteen fathom water: after this we anchored nearer the eaſtern keys, in the depth of nineteen fathom, where we had oozy ground.

Saturday, May the 7th. The night before was very fair all night long; in the morning we went in a canoe, being ſeveral in company, to ſeek for a place to lay our ſhip in: amongſt the iſlands along the ſhore we found many brave holes, but little or no water in them, and therefore not for our purpoſe. On one of the ſaid iſlands we found a hat, and many jars of water, by which we knew that people had lately been there: about eight in the evening our

our ſhip weighed anchor at young flood, and about three in the afternoon we anchored again in five fathom water.

Saturday, May the 8th, 1681. The night before we had much rain, with thunder and lightning. The morning being come, our commander, captain Sharp, left the ſhip in two canoes, with twenty-two men in his company, out of deſign to ſurprize any veſſels or people they could meet hereabouts. Mean while, in the evening we drove up with the tide there being no wind, in the ſhip, two or three leagues higher, till we found but three fathom high water; here we backed a-ſtern. At this time we ſaw one of our canoes coming off from the iſland that was at head of us (which was named Chira) calling for more men and arms, ſaying, there were two ſail of ſhips higher up the gulf. Hereupon, eight of us went with them aſhore, whereof two joined the party afore-mentioned, and the ſix remaining were appointed to guard the priſoners they had taken: to theſe we ſhewed ourſelves very kind, as finding they were ſenſible of the cruelties of the Spaniards towards them and their whole nation. Here we found to the number of eight or nine houſes, and a ſmall chapel ſtanding: theſe people have been in former times a conſiderable and great nation, but are now almoſt deſtroyed and extinguiſhed by the Spaniards. We aſcended a league up a creek of the ſea, or thereabouts, and took by ſurprizal two barks, which were the two ſail they had told us of before: one of theſe barks was the ſame we had taken before at Panama, of which I made mention at the beginning of this hiſtory.

The Monday following we weighed anchor with our barks, and drove down the creek, with the tide at ebb towards our ſhip. The priſoners we had taken here, informed us, that when we were to weſtward

weſtward in theſe ſeas before, there lay 100 men at the port of Santa Maria: that our men, who left us at the iſland Cayboa, as was mentioned above, met the other bark that we loſt at ſea, as we were ſailing thither, and ſo went all over land together: that in the north ſeas, near Puerto Velo, they had taken a good ſhip, to be revenged of the Spaniards, who ſtop up the mouth of Santa Maria, with deſign to hinder others from paſſing that way. At night our captain with twenty-four men went from the ſhip in another creek, and there took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was a ſhipwright and his men, who were judged able to do us good ſervice in the altering our ſhip; thoſe carpenters being actually building two great ſhips for the Spaniards. Having taken theſe men, they made a float of timber, to bring down the tools and inſtruments they were working withal: they alſo put ſeveral tools, and a conſiderable quantity of iron-work into a doree, to be conveyed down the river, which ſunk by the way, as being overladen with iron; and one of our company, named John Alexander, a Scotſman, was unfortunately drowned in her.

Thurſday following, May the 12th, we ſent a canoe from the ſhip, and found the doree that was drowned: that evening likewiſe drove down the body of our drowned man afore-mentioned; hereupon we took him up, and on Friday morning following threw him overboard, giving him three French vollies for his cuſtomary ceremony. Both this day and the day before, we fetched water from a point near the houſes, on the iſland of Chira aforementioned: from the ſhip alſo we ſent away a Spaniſh merchant, whom we had taken among the priſoners, to fetch a certain number of beeves, that might ſerve for a ranſom of the new bark taken here.

here. This day the weather was fair, but on Sunday following it rained from morning till night.

Monday, May the 16th, we began to work all on our ſhip. Tueſday, an Indian boy, named Peter, ran away from us; he belonged to captain Sawkins, and waited upon him as a ſervant. Wedneſday died an Indian ſlave, whoſe name was Salvador. Thurſday we heard thirty or forty guns fired on the main, which made us think theſe would alſo turn to Hilo beeves. Friday, we caught cockles, which were as large as both our fiſts: at night there fell ſuch dreadful rain, with thunder, lightning, and wind, that for the ſpace of two hours the air was as light as day; the thunder not ceaſing all the while.

Saturday night, we had more thunder, lightning, and rain. Sunday, we continued our work.

Wedneſday, May the 25th. This day we finiſhed our great piece of work, viz. the taking down the ſtock of our ſhip: beſides which, the length of every maſt was ſhortened, and all our work finiſhed; inſomuch, that it would ſeem incredible ſhould I here give an account how much work we did in a fortnight or leſs. The ſame day likewiſe we ſet at liberty our Spaniſh carpenters, who had been very ſerviceable to us all this while; the old pilot, the old Spaniard taken at the iſle of Yqueque, and ſeveral other of our Spaniſh priſoners and ſlaves. To theſe people, but chiefly to the Spaniſh carpenters, as a reward of their good ſervice, we gave the new bark which we had taken at this place; but the ſaid bark we thought fit to keep, and ſail her in our company, as we did, putting into her for this purpoſe ſix of our own men and two ſlaves. The next day we fell down as low as Vanero, a place ſo called hereabouts, and would have ſailed away again that very evening; but that our tackle gave way in hoiſting our anchor, which made us lie ſtill. In

the gulf of Nicoya we had commonly a freſh breeze, and at night a land wind.

Friday, May the 27th. This day likewiſe we drove down with the tide as low as Cavallo, another place in the gulf: here we ſtaid and watered that day; and one Cannis Marcy, our interpreter, ran away from us.

May the 28th, in the morning we ſailed from thence, and came within twenty-nine leagues of that rich and rocky ſhore; yet, notwithſtanding we had but ſeven fathom water here, I ſaw a white porpus. Behind this iſland is a town called New Cape Blanco. At Puerto Caldero above-mentioned is but one ſtore-houſe: we came to an anchor in the depth of ſeven fathom water, at the diſtance of a league from ſhore, and caught five turtles.

May the 29th. This day we ſaw Cape Blanco. Both this day, and the day following, we continued turning it out of the gulf againſt a ſouth wind.

CHAP. XIX.

They go from Nicoya to Gulfo Dulce, where they careen their veſſel. An account of their ſailings along the coaſt. The Spaniards force the Indians of Darien to a peace by a ſtratagem contrived in the name of the Engliſh.

WEDNESDAY, June the 1ſt, 1681. This day we had very fair weather, yet but little wind: hereupon the tide, or current, drove us to the weſtward of Cabo Blanco: off this cape, and at the diſtance of two miles within the ſea, is ſituate a very bare key.

The coaſt here along runs N. W. half W. and grows lower and lower towards cape Guyones: this cape now mentioned, at ſeven leagues diſtance, and

and at N. W. by N. at firſt ſight appeared like two iſlands: the latter part of this day was cloudy, which hindered our proſpect.

June the 2d. This morning we ſaw land, which appeared like ſeveral keys at N. W. by N. and at ſeven leagues diſtance: it was the land of Puerto de Velas.

This evening our captain called us together, and aſked our opinions of the courſe we ſhould ſteer: having diſcuſſed the points by him propoſed amongſt us, we all reſolved to bear up for Golfo Dulce, and there to careen our veſſels: this being done, we concluded to go from thence to the cape, and cruize thereabouts under the æquinoctial. We obſerved this day that our bark, taken at the gulf of Nicoya, ſailed much better than our ſhip.

Friday, June the 3d. The night before was very fair, and we had a freſh wind, our courſe being W. by W. by N. In the evening we ſtood N. E. and deſcried land at the diſtance of about twenty-four leagues from Cabo Blanco.

Sunday, June the 5th. Laſt night we lay by the greateſt part thereof: this morning we ſaw the iſland of Cano above deſcribed, which bore E. S. E. from us: we ſaw multitudes of fiſh, but they would not bite; alſo water-ſnakes of divers colours.

June the 6th. All the night paſt we had rain, with little wind, ſcarce enough to carry us clear off from the iſland afore-mentioned: towards morning we had a freſh wind at N. N. W. So we ſtood out S. till morning, and then we ſtood N. E. by E. The land runs from Punta Mala to Golfo Dulce, and Punta Borrica, E. S. E. half S. at nine leagues diſtance we laid the iſland of Cano.

The weſt end of Golfo Dulce is very high land, and a high rock lies cloſe off it; beſides which, two other rocks lie farther out; the outermoſt of which

is a mile diſtant from the ſhore. The eaſt ſide is alſo high, but breaks into ſmall points and bays, growing lower and lower to Punta Borrica. We came about a mile within the mouth of the gulf; then we anchored in eight fathom and a half water. The mouth of the gulf is almoſt three leagues over.

The next day, being June the 7th, we weighed anchor again at young flood, and got about two leagues higher: at evening we came again to anchor in the depth of ſeven fathom and a half water: it rained ſo hard this day till eight o'clock, that the drops could not be diſtinguiſhed one from another.

Wedneſday, June the 8th. At day-break we weighed anchor again, with a freſh ſea-breeze: the higher up we went, the deeper we found the gulf, and at laſt no ground, even with thirty fathom line: this day we ſent our canoe away to ſeek water, and a good place to lay our ſhip in. Having landed, we found one Indian and two boys, all which we made priſoners, and brought aboard. We uſed them very kindly, giving them victuals and clothes, for they had nothing but the bark of a tree to cover their nakedneſs withal: being examined, they informed us that a Spaniſh prieſt had been amongſt them, and had made peace with their nation, ordering them ſtrictly not to come near any ſhip or veſſel that had red colours; for they were Engliſhmen, and would certainly kill them. Being aſked where the prieſt was; they anſwered he was gone to a great Spaniſh town, four ſleeps up in the country. After this, the Indian left the two boys, his children, with us, and went to fetch more Indians to us, from a plantane-wall or grove ſituate by a river about a league off. We came to an anchor in a bay cloſe by one of the Indian keys, where two freſh rivers were within a ſtone's throw of each other, in twenty-ſeven fathom and a half water, and at a cable's length from the

mark

mark of low water. The Indians, whom our priſoners went to ſeek, came to us ſeveral times, ſelling us honey, plantanes, and other neceſſaries that we uſually bought of them, or trucked for with other things. We alſo made uſe of their bark-logs in tallowing our ſhip, in which caſe they did us good ſervice. Their darts are headed with iron as ſharp as any razor.

Here one of the priſoners which we took at the gulf of Nicoya informed us by what means, or rather ſtratagem of war, the Spaniards had forced a peace upon the Indians of the province of Darien, ſince our departure from thence. The manner was as follows. A certain Frenchman, who ran from us, at the iſland of Taboga, to the Spaniards, was ſent by them in a ſhip to the river's mouth, which emptied itſelf from that province into the South-ſea. Being arrived there, he went aſhore by himſelf in a canoe, and told the Indians, that the Engliſh, who had paſſed that way, were come back from their adventures in the South-ſea. Withal, he aſked them, if they would not be ſo kind and friendly to the Engliſhmen, as to come aboard and conduct them on ſhore? the poor deceived Indians were very joyful to underſtand this good news; and thus forty of the chiefeſt of them went on board the Spaniſh veſſel, and were immediately carried priſoners of war to Panama. Here they were forced to conclude a peace, though upon terms very diſadvantageous to them, before they could obtain their liberty.

Theſe poor and miſerable Indians of Golfo Dulce would come every day in our company, and eat and drink very familiarly with us all the time we were there. We laid our ſhip on ground, but the water did not ebb low enough to ſee her keel. While we were careening our veſſel, we built a houſe upon the

ſhore, both to lodge and eat in; and every day we caught plenty of good fiſh.

Sunday, June the 12th. The work of careening our ſhip going on in due order, we came to cleanſe our hold; and here on a ſudden both myſelf and ſeveral others were ſtruck quite blind with the filth and naſtineſs of it: yet ſoon after we recovered our ſight again, without any other help than the benefit of the freſh air.

June the 14th, we had a great and fierce tornado, with which our cable broke, and had it not then happened to be high water at that inſtant, we had been loſt inevitably: however, we had the good fortune to ſhore her up again, and by that means ſecure ourſelves from farther danger.

June the 21ſt, we weighed anchor again, and went a league higher than the former place. Here we watered, and in the mean while left men below to cut wood.

Thurſday, June the 23d. This day ran away from us two negroes: the name of one of them was Hernando, who was taken, with don Thomas de Argandona, upon the coaſt of Guayaquil, as was mentioned above; the other was named Silveſter, taken at the town of Hilo; following the example of thoſe afore-mentioned.

Monday, June the 27th, that is, four days after, two more of our priſoners endeavoured to make their eſcape, both of them ſlaves: one of theſe was named Franciſco, who was a negro, and had been taken in the cocoa ſhip mentioned before: the name of the other was alſo Franciſco, an Indian born, taken at Panama. Their attempts to eſcape ſucceeded not, for we caught them both again before they got on ſhore.

Tueſday following, I went and ſailed up and down the gulf in a little bark belonging to our ſhip;

ſhip; and viewed all the parts of Golfo Dulce: our captain gave this gulf the name of king Charles's harbour.

CHAP. XX.

They depart from Golfo Dulce, to go and cruize under the equinoctial. Here they take a rich Spaniſh veſſel with 37,000 *pieces of eight, beſides plate and other goods. They take alſo a pacquet-boat bound from Panama to Lima. An account of their ſailings and the coaſts along.*

OUR veſſel being now careened, and all things in a readineſs for our departure, Tueſday, June the 28th, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor to go to ſea again, turning out towards the mouth of Golfo Dulce. Our deſign was to cruize under the equinoctial, as had been concluded upon before, thereby to get what purchaſe we could by ſea, ſeeing the greateſt part of our attempts upon land had proved hitherto very unſucceſsful to us.

Wedneſday, June the 29th. Both the night laſt paſt and this day we had rainy weather. About three in the afternoon a freſh gale ſprang up at S. W. and S. S. W. our courſe being S. E. and S. E. by S. At five this evening the gulf bore N. W. by W. being ſeven leagues diſtant, and Punta Borrica three leagues and a half diſtant.

Thurſday, June the 30th. All night paſt we enjoyed a freſh gale at S. S. W. We ſailed in the bark, where I was, better than the man of war; for ſo we called the Trinity veſſel; notwithſtanding ſhe was newly cleanſed and tallowed. This day we had hazy weather, and I reckoned myſelf from Punta Borrica S. S. E. eighteen leagues and a half.

July the 1ſt, 1681. Laſt night we had two or

three tornadoes: I reckoned this day a S. S. E. way, and by a clear obſervation found lat. 6 deg. 10 north. We ſaw great quantities of fiſh as we ſailed this day.

July 2d, we made a S. E. way, and our reckoning was 64 by it: by obſervation I found lat. 5 deg. 20 north. At noon the ſame day we had a freſh gale at S. W. with ſome rain.

July the 3d, we had hazy weather. We made a S. S. E. by S. way, 37.

Monday, July the 4th. The night paſt was windy with rain, which forced us to hand our top-ſails. Our reckoning this day was a S. E. way, and a hundred miles.

July the 5th. We had a clear night the laſt paſt, and withal a freſh gale; by this we made a S. E. way. Our latitude this day gave us 2 deg. 20 north. This morning we ſaw land ſouthward of us, lying in low hammocks: it was the point of Manglares.

Wedneſday, July the 6th, we turned up along ſhore, and by obſervation took this day lat. 2 deg. 2 N. Hereabouts every new moon is a windward current. In the evening we were cloſe in with low land: we had windy weather, and a great ſea.

Thurſday, July the 7th. This day, by obſervation taken, we found lat. 1 deg. 48 north. In the evening we loſt ſight of the ſaid ſhip.

July the 8th, we ſaw the ſhip again, for the loſs whereof we began to be in ſome doubt. This day we made very high land all along as we went: and the port, or rather bay, of San Matteo, or St. Mathews, appeared like ſeveral iſlands.

Saturday, July the 9th. This morning we ſtood fair in with the port of Tucames. Off of the higheſt part of the land there ſeems to be a key. This day at noon we had a clear obſervation, which gave us latitude 1 deg. 22 north.

Sunday,

Sunday, July the 10th. Laſt night we ſtood off to ſea, thereby to keep clear of the ſhore. This day's obſervation ſhewed us latitude 1 deg. 31 north. About noon the ſame day, we happened to eſpy a ſail, which we immediately gave chace to. We bore up to the point of the compaſs, thereby to hinder her laſking away; notwithſtanding, in the evening we loſt ſight of her: however, our great ſhip got up with her, and about eight of the clock at night made her a prize: ſhe proved to be the ſhip named San Pedro, which we had taken the laſt year, being then bound from Truxillo to Panama, and laden with wine, gunpowder, and pieces of eight, whereof mention was made before. We took her twice in leſs than fourteen months. She had on board her now 21,000 pieces of eight, in eight cheſts, and in bags 16,000 more, beſides plate.

Monday and Tueſday, the 11th and 12th of July, we made in for the ſhore. Our prize was ſo hard laden, that ſhe ſeemed quite buried in the water. She had forty men on board her, beſides ſome merchants and friars. On Tueſday an obſervation gave us latitude 1 deg. 20 north.

Wedneſday, July the 13th. This day we dared not adventure into the bay of San Matteo, becauſe we ſaw ſome Indians who had made a great fire on ſhore, which, as we judged, was deſignedly done to give intelligence of our arrival: hereupon we bore away for the river of San Iago, about ſix leagues north-eaſt from the bay before-mentioned.

Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday following, we ſpent in taking out of our prize what parcels of cocoa nuts we thought fit, ſhe being chiefly laden with that commodity. This being done, we cut down the main-maſt by the board, and gave them only their main-ſail, and thus turning the ſhip

looſe, ſent away in her all our old ſlaves for the good ſervice they had done us, taking new ones from the prize in their room. One only we ſtil. detained, who was Franciſco the negro, that attempted to run away by ſwimming aſhore.

Sunday, July the 17th. This day we went from the ſhip, and found the river of San Iago beforementioned. At the mouth of this river we ſtaid Monday and Tueſday following to take in water, which we now much wanted. On the ſides of the river we found good ſtore of plantains: our freſh water we fetched four miles up the river. We ſaw ſeveral Indians, but could not ſpeak with them, they were ſo ſhy of us, being forewarned by the Spaniards not to come near us.

Wedneſday, July the 20th, we ſhared our plunder, or rather made part of the dividend of what we had taken, the reſt being reſerved to another day. Our priſoners being examined, informed us that the Spaniards had taken up our anchors and cables, which we left behind us at the iſle of Juan Fernandez; alſo that they had ſurprized the Muſquito Indian that we left behind us there on ſhore, by the light of a fire which he made in the night upon the iſle.

Tueſday, July the 21ſt. All the four-and-twenty hours laſt paſt we ſtood off and in. The next day we ſhared the reſt of our things taken in the prize, as alſo the money that was in the bags; the reſt we laid up to divide upon another occaſion; eſpecially when we were got through the ſtreights of Magellan. Our dividend amounted to the ſum of 234 pieces of eight a man. Our priſoners informed us this day, that a new viceroy of Peru was arrived at Panama, and that he dared not adventure up to Lima in a ſhip of twenty-five guns, that was at Panama, for fear of meeting with us at ſea, but had choſe

choſe rather to ſtay till the Armada came down from Lima to conduct him thither.

July the 23d, we had a freſh breeze at S. W. and the next day a clear obſervation, which gave us only latitude 14 M. north. This day we ſaw cape St. Franciſco, N. E.

Monday, July the 25th. This day we obſerved latitude 1 deg. 20 S. and we had S. W. wind. July the 26th. This morning we had a very great dew fallen in the night laſt paſt. The weather in like manner was very cloſe. On Wedneſday, July the 27th, we were at S. S. W. of Cape Paſſao, and at ſix leagues diſtance.

The ſame morning about ſeven of the clock we ſpied a ſail E. S. E. from us, under ſhore. We preſently gave her cloſe chace, and about noon came up with her. But ſeveral of her crew got on ſhore, and made their eſcape, viz. a friar, who was either a paſſenger, or chaplain to the veſſel, and five negroes. She proved to be a barco de aviſo, or packet-boat, that was going with letters from Panama to Lima. In this bark we took, among other priſoners, two white women, who were paſſengers to the ſame place. Theſe and the reſt of the priſoners told us, they had heard at Panama, that we were all gone out of theſe ſeas homewards over land, and that made them adventure now up towards Lima; otherwiſe they had not come. This day, and Thurſday following, we ſpent in rummaging the packet-boat, in which we could find nothing of value, they having ſcarce brought any thing with them but the packet. They told us moreover, that the new viceroy of Peru, of whom we made mention above, was ſetting forth from Panama, under the conduct of three ſail of ſhips; one of ſixteen, another of eight, and a third of ſix guns: that a general peace was all over Europe, except only that

the Engliſh had wars with the Algerines by ſea, and the Spaniards by land. Having got what we could out of the priſoners and the veſſel, we gave them their liberty, and ſent them away in the ſame bark, as being deſirous not to encumber ourſelves with more than we could well manage. That night we ſtood out to ſea all night long, moſt of our men being fuddled.

CHAP. XXI.

They take another Spaniſh ſhip richly laden, under the equinoctial. They make ſeveral dividends of their booty among themſelves. They arrive at the iſle of Plate, where they are in danger of being all maſſacred by their ſlaves and priſoners. Their departure from thence for the port of Paita, with deſign to plunder the ſaid place.

NEXT morning, after we had turned away the packet-boat before-mentioned, the weather being very cloſe, we ſpied another ſail creeping cloſe under our lee. This veſſel looked mighty big; ſo that we thought ſhe had been one of their chiefeſt men of war, who was ſent to ſurprize or deſtroy us. Notwithſtanding our brave commander, captain Sharp, reſolved to fight, and either take her though never ſo big, or ſhe us: in order thereto, coming nearer her, we eaſily perceived ſhe was a merchant ſhip of great bulk, as moſt Spaniſh veſſels are, and withal very deeply laden. Being up with them, they fired three or four guns at us firſt, thinking to make their party good againſt us; but we anſwered them briſkly with a continual volley of ſmall arms, ſo that they ſoon run down into the hold, and ſurrendered, crying aloud for quarter. We killed in that volley their captain, and one ſeaman, and alſo wounded

wounded their boatſwain. The loſs of their commander ſo daunted them, he being a man of good repute in thoſe ſeas, that they ſurrendered immediately. Captain Sharp, with twelve more of our company, entered her firſt. In this veſſel I ſaw the beautifulleſt woman that ever I ſaw in the South-ſea. The name of the captain of the veſſel was don Diego Lopez, and the ſhip was called El Santo Roſario, or the Holy Roſary. The men we found on board her were about forty.

Having examined our priſoners, they informed us, that the day before they ſet ſail from El Callao (from which port they were going towards Panama) our men, whom they had taken priſoners at Arica, were brought into that place; and that they had been very civilly entertained there by all ſorts of people, but more eſpecially by the women. That one of our [illegible]eons, whom we ſuſpected to be Mr. Bullock, was left behind, and remained ſtill at Arica.

We lay at anchor from Friday, July the 29th, which was the day we took this prize, till Wedneſday following, under Cape Paſſao, the place we anchored at before. Here we ſunk the bark we had taken at the gulf of Nicoya, being willing to make uſe of what rigging ſhe had, and alſo to contract our number of men. In the mean while we took a great deal of plate out of the prize, and ſome money ready coined, beſides ſix hundred and twenty jars of wine and brandy, and other things. Thus, leaving only the foremaſt ſtanding in the veſſel, we turned her away, as we had done the others before, together with all the priſoners in her, giving them their liberty, not being willing to be encumbered with them; and withal, being deſirous to ſpare our proviſions as much as we could. We detained only one man, named Franciſco, who was a Biſ-

canier, becauſe he told us himſelf he was the beſt pilot in thoſe ſeas. This being done, we ſhared all the plate and linen taken in her, and weighed from thence, ſtanding S. S. E. with a freſh wind.

Friday, Auguſt the 4th. This day we ſhared the ready money taken in the Roſario, our laſt prize. Our dividend came to ninety-four pieces of eight a man. We were now at N. E. of Cape Paſſao, under which all theſe prizes were taken.

The land runs S. E. and is for five leagues together, to windward of this cape, all mountainous and high land.

Next day, being Auguſt the 5th, we completed our dividends, ſharing this day all our odd money ready coined, and plate, with ſome other things.

Saturday, Auguſt the 6th. This day peruſing ſome letters taken in the laſt prize, underſtood by them that the Spaniards had taken prisoner one of the laſt party of our men that left us; alſo, that they were forced to fight all their way over land as they went, both againſt the Spaniards and Indians; theſe having made peace with the Spaniards ſince our departure, as was mentioned above: that our Engliſhmen had killed, amongſt other Spaniards, the brother of captain Aſſientos, and captain Alonſo, an officer ſo named. Moreover, that ten ſail of privateers were coming out of the North-ſea, with intent to march over land into the South-ſea, as we had done before, but that they were prevented, being forced back by the great rains that fell near the iſlands called Zemblas.

Auguſt the 7th, we had very fair weather, and notwithſtanding ſometimes ſtrong winds from ſhore, and a ſtrong current to leeward. This ran ſo fierce againſt us the next day, Auguſt the 8th, that in four-and-twenty hours we loſt three leagues.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 9th, we ſaw the port and town

town of Manta; being only ſixteen or ſeventeen ſtraggling houſes, with a large and high brick church belonging to it. What we got in the day by the help of the wind, we loſt in the night by the current. The ſame fortune we had the next day, for we ſtill gained no way all this while.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 11th. All the night paſt we had but little wind: this day we had a violent current to windward, as before, with ſome guſts of wind. However, by the help of theſe, we made ſhift to get to windward of the iſle of Plate.

Auguſt the 12th, in the morning, we came to anchor at the aforeſaid iſle: we ſent our boat aſhore with men, as we had done formerly, to kill goats, but we found them extreme ſhy to what they were the laſt year. Here it was that our quarter-maſter James Ch[illegible] and myſelf fought a duel on ſhore. In the [illegible] our ſlaves agreed among themſelves, and plotted to cut [illegible] all in pieces when we were aſleep, not giving quarter to any: they conceived this night afforded them the fitteſt opportunity, by reaſon we were all in drink; but they were diſcovered to our commander by one of their own companions: and one of them named San Iago, whom we brought from Yqueque, leapt overboard; who notwithſtanding was ſhot in the water by our captain, and thus puniſhed for his treaſon: the reſt laid the fault on that ſlave, and ſo it paſſed, we being not willing to enquire any farther into the matter, having terrified them with the death of their companion. We lay at this iſle till Tueſday following, and in the interim gave our veſſel a pair of boots and tops, being very merry all the while with the wine and brandy we had taken in the prize.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 16th. In the afternoon, we weighed from thence with a S. W. wind.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 17th. We got eaſt of the

the iſland this morning, two leagues and a half diſtance.

All the day till the morning we had a leeward current, but then I could not perceive any.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 18th. This evening we were to windward of the iſland of Solango. In the night before we had a continual miſty rain. At noon the aforeſaid iſland bore N. by E. of us, at three leagues diſtance.

About three leagues from Solango are two rocks, called Los Abercados: they appear both high and black. Beſides this, N. N. E. from point St. Helena, is a high rock, which to windward thereof runs ſhoaling for the ſpace of half a mile under water: it is diſtant about eight leagues from the ſaid point, and is called Chanduy. At this place, and upon this rock, was loſt the ſhip afore-mentioned, that was ordered from theſe ſeas for the aid of Charles the Firſt, king of England. This ſhip had on board, as the Spaniards reported, many millions of pieces of eight, being ſent as a preſent to him, he being then in his troubles, by the merchants of Lima. The rock afore-mentioned lies about two leagues diſtant from the main.

Auguſt the 29th. This day our pilot told us, that ſince we were to windward, a certain ſhip that was coming from Lima, bound for Guayaquil, ran aſhore on Santa Clara, loſing there in money to the value of 100,000 pieces of eight, which otherwiſe, peradventure, we might very fortunately have met withal. Moreover, that the viceroy of Peru had beheaded their great admiral Ponce, for not coming to fight and deſtroy us, while we were at Gorgona. This evening we ſaw the point Santa Helena, ten leagues to S. S. E. from us.

Auguſt the 20th. This day we had both miſty and cold weather: in the afternoon we ſaw la Punta de

de Santa Helena, at N. E. by N. and at about ſeven leagues diſtance.

On Sunday, Auguſt the 21ſt, we had a fair and clear day: I reckoned myſelf to be about twenty-five leagues to the ſouthward of Santa Helena.

Auguſt the 22d. This morning about two o'clock we came cloſe in with the ſhore. We found ourſelves to be leeward of a certain point called Punta de Mero, which is only a barren rocky point: here runs an eddy current under the ſhore.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 23d. This day in the morning we had but little wind: at noon it blew freſh again. We made all day but ſhort trips, and riffed top ſails.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 24th. This morning a great dew fell: at noon we were weſt from Cape Blanco. We found by obſervation lat. 4 deg. 13 S. We reſolved now to bear up to Paita, and take it by ſurprifal if poſſible, thereby to provide ourſelves with many neceſſaries we wanted.

CHAP. XXII.

They arrive at Paita, where they are diſappointed of their expectations, as not daring to land, ſeeing all the country alarmed before them. They bear away for the ſtreight of Magellan. An account of their ſailings towards the ſtreight afore-mentioned.

THurſday, Auguſt the 25th. Wedneſday night we ſtood off to ſea for fear of the ſhore, leſt we ſhould be deſcried from the coaſt of Paita, which we were now pretty nigh. About noon this day we began to ſtand in again, and ſaw the homing of land, though with hazy weather. The next day, being Auguſt the 26th, we had cold winds, great dews, and dry weather.

Saturday,

Saturday, Auguſt the 27th. All this day, eſpecially in the morning, we had a great fog. In the afternoon we ſaw la Silla de Paita at W. S. W. being about five leagues from it.

Sunday, Auguſt the 28th. Laſt night about ten, we were cloſe in with land, at about half a league to leeward of the iſland of Lobos. We continued our courſe all that night, and about break of day found ourſelves cloſe under Pena Horadada, which is a high and ſteep rock. From this place we ſailed with a land-wind, and ſent from the ſhip two canoes well manned and armed, hoping we ſhould take the town of Paita undeſcried. But it ſeems they had already got news of our coming, or being upon that coaſt; and ſupplies of forces were ſent them from Piura, twelve leagues up the country. Theſe ſupplies conſiſted chiefly of three companies of horſe and foot, all of them armed with fire-arms. Beſides this, they had made, for the defence of the town, a breaſt-work along the ſea-ſide, and the great church which lies at the outermoſt part of the town. From theſe places, as alſo from a hill that covers the town, they fired at our men, who were innocently rolling towards ſhore with their canoes. This untimely firing was the preſervation of our people: for had the Spaniards permitted our men to come aſhore, they had aſſuredly deſtroyed them every man; but fear always hindereth that nation of victory in moſt of our attempts.

Our men perceiving themſelves diſcovered, and the enemy prepared for their reception, retreated, and came aboard the ſhip again without attempting to land, or do any thing elſe in relation to the taking of the place. We judged there could be no leſs than 150 fire-arms, and four times as many lances upon the ſhore, all in a readineſs to hinder our people from landing. Within the town, our pilot told us, there might be about 150 families.

Being

Being diſappointed of our expectations at Paita, we ſtood down the bay towards Colan, three times as big as Paita. It is chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen, who ſend fiſh to moſt inland towns of Peru; and alſo ſerve Paita with water from the river Colan, not far from the town. It is about two leagues from the town of Paita before-mentioned to Colan, and from thence to the river one league, although the houſes of Colan reach almoſt to the river. The town of Colan is only inhabited by Indians, who are all rich; becauſe they will be paid in ready money for every thing they do for the Spaniards. But the town of Paita is chiefly inhabited by Spaniards, though there be alſo ſome Indians; but the Spaniards do not ſuffer the Indians to be any great gainers, or grow rich under them.

About [illegible] o'clock a ſmall breeze ſprung up, and with that we ſtood away weſt, and W. by S. In a little time it blew ſo freſh, that we were forced to riff our top-ſails, the weather being very dark and hazy.

Monday, Auguſt the 29th, all our hopes of doing any farther good upon the coaſts of the South-ſeas being now fruſtrated, ſeeing we were deſcried before our arrival wherever we came, we reſolved unanimouſly to quit all other attempts, and bear away for the ſtreights of Magellan, in order to our return homewards, either for England, or ſome of our plantations in the Weſt-Indies. This day we had a great dew, and I reckoned myſelf W. S. W. from Paita thirteen leagues and a half, with very little wind: ſo we ſtood eaſt.

The next day, Auguſt the 30th, we had miſty weather; we made a W. S. W. way, and by it five leagues and one third. In the afternoon the wind freſhened again, having been but little before, and we ſtood E. S. E.

The

The laſt day of Auguſt we had very fair weather. I believe now that the wind was ſettled S. E. and S. S. E. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty-one leagues and two thirds.

September the 1ſt. The night paſt was very cloudy, but withal we had a freſh gale. Our reckoning was a S. W. way, and that we had made ſixteen leagues and two thirds.

September the 2d, we reckoned a S. W. way, and by it twenty-ſix leagues and two thirds. This day we had an obſervation, and found latitude 7 deg. 40 ſouth.

September the 3d brought us both cloudy and miſty weather. We made a W. S. W. way, and fourteen leagues.

September the 4th. This day the wind was at E. S. E. and ſometimes E. coming in many ſlaws. We had a S. W. by S. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and two thirds. We had a great ſea from the ſouth.

Monday, September the 5th, we had great winds, and a high and ſhort ſea. Our way was S. S. W. and half W. by which we reckoned 28 leagues and two thirds of a league.

September the 6th, we had a very freſh wind at S. E. by E. with an indifferent ſmooth ſea. By obſervation we found this day latitude 12 deg. 0. S. We made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty leagues and one third.

Wedneſday, September the 7th, we had a very freſh wind. We reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and thirty-ſix leagues. We obſerved latitude 13 deg. 04 S. We made now each meſs a plum-pudding of ſalt-water and wine-lees.

The 8th, we had a freſh gale of wind, but hazy weather. Our reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereby twenty-five leagues and one third of a league.

Sep-

September the 9th, we made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-one leagues and a third. In the afternoon the wind came about ſomething more ſoutherly, allowing us a S. W. courſe.

Saturday, September the 10th. All the night paſt and this morning the wind was very freſh at eaſt. Our way was S. S. W. and by our reckoning thirty-five leagues and one third: the weather was now warm. An obſervation this day gave lat. 16 deg. 40 ſouth.

September the 11th, we had whiffling winds: a ſouth-weſt half ſouth way, and thereby twelve leagues and two thirds. By an obſervation we made, we found 17 deg. 10 ſouth. Now we had a very great ſea; ſo that we took in our ſprit-ſail.

September the 12th. All the night before we were under a pair of courſes; yet this morning we heaved out our main top-ſail. We made a W. S. W. way, and ſeventeen leagues and one third. By obſervation we found lat. 17 deg. 30 ſouth.

The 13th. The night paſt we had great and huge ſtorms of wind. In the morning our gooſe-head gave way, ſo that about noon we were forced to lie by till four in the afternoon to mend it. Our courſe was S. W. half W. and our reckoning twenty-nine leagues and two thirds of a league. Latitude by obſervation 18 deg. 12 ſouth.

Wedneſday, September the 14th. This day we had very hazy weather. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty leagues.

September the 15th. This day likewiſe we had a S. S. W. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and one half. Our obſervation taken this day gave us lat. 20 deg. 9 ſouth.

September the 16th, we had a clear day, a S. W. half ſouth way, and made ſixteen leagues and two thirds. We found by obſervation lat. 20 deg. 48 ſouth.

The

The 17th. Laſt night was very calm; alſo this day, being a full-moon. We reckoned a S. W. way, and only (by reaſon of the calmneſs of the weather) nine leagues and one third of a league. We had an obſervation, which afforded us 21 deg. 8 S. latitude.

Sunday, September the 18th. Laſt night a wind ſprang up at S. S. E. which this morning freſhened at S. E. We made a W. S. W. way, and by it eighteen leagues. This day likewiſe we had a clear obſervation, that ſhewed us lat. 21. deg. 30 S.

September the 19th. All the night paſt we had a very freſh wind; but this morning it came about to E. by S. and E. S. E. with hazy weather. I reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-two leagues.

September the 20th. This day gave us a freſh wind, hazy weather, and S. by W. way, and hereupon twenty-three leagues and one third.

September the 21ſt. This day alſo the freſh gale continued, with cloudy, and ſometimes miſty weather. Our reckoning ſhewed us a S. by W. way, as the day before, and by it twenty-eight leagues and one third. By obſervation made we found lat. 25 deg. 15 ſouth.

Thurſday, September the 22d. This day we had a very freſh wind: we reckoned a ſouth half W. way, and by that twenty-nine leagues and two thirds. An obſervation taken gave us lat. 26 deg. 42 ſouth. We obſerved this day a north-eaſt ſea, which was very ſtrange to us.

The next day we had ſeveral ſhowers of ſmall rain: my reckoning was a S. by W. way, and thereupon twenty-ſix leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 27 deg. 57 ſouth.

September the 24th, we had hazy weather, and the wind not ſo freſh at E. S. E. with a ſmooth ſea: we made a S. S. W. way half weſterly, and twenty

twenty-three leagues and two thirds. This day alſo an obſervation gave us lat. 28. deg. 57 ſouth. I reckoned now that we were diſtant from Paita [illegible] two thirds.

Sunday, September the 25th. This day we had not much wind, and withal hazy weather. At noon the wind came eaſt, then E. N. E. and then again N. E. by E. We reckoned a S. by E. way, half eaſterly and 55 leagues.

Monday the 26th, we had hazy weather, and a freſh wind at N. E. We reckoned a S. E. half ſouth way, and twenty-four leagues. In the afternoon we experimented a N. N. E. ſea, and then a N. N. E. wind; after this a north wind, and that but a little.

September the 27th. All the night before this day we had a freſh wind at N. N. E. About eight this morning it came about again to N. N. W. We made a S. E. by S. way, and thirty-eight leagues. By obſervation I found lat. 32 deg. 30 ſouth. Now we enjoyed a very ſmooth ſea, and fair weather.

Wedneſday, September the 28th. The night paſt we had a very freſh wind at W. N. W. and N. W. At break of day we had a wind at——heaving us a-back at once. At noon again the wind was at S. W. our courſe being S. E. This morning we took down our top-gallant maſts. We made a S. E. by E. way, and on this road twenty-ſeven leagues and two thirds. We found, by an obſervation made, lat. 33 deg. 16 ſouth, a ſouth-weſt ſea.

The 29th, we had very windy and hazy weather, with ſome rain now and then. All laſt night we handed our main top-ſail. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty-two leagues and two thirds. We had a ſouth-weſt ſea and wind.

Friday, September the 30th. This day we had freſh winds between S. W. and W. We reckoned a S. E.

a S. E. half ſouth way, and thereupon forty-four leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 35 deg. 54 ſouth.

October the 1ſt. The wind this day was not very freſh, but varying. My reckoning was a S. E. half ſouth way, and twenty-four leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 36 deg. 50 ſouth. This day I finiſhed another quadrant, being the third I finiſhed in this voyage. We had a ſouth-weſt ſea, with ſhowers of rain and guſts of wind.

Sunday, October the 2d. The wind this day was hanging between W. N. W. and N. W. by N. We made a S. E. by ſouth way, and thirty-three leagues and two thirds. By obſervation we found 38 deg. 14 ſouth: about noon we had a freſh wind at N. W. and S. W.

October the 3d. The laſt night in the fore part thereof was clear, but the latter was rainy: the wind very freſh at N. W. by N. But this day we had little wind and cloudy weather; a S. W. by W. wind, and a S. E. by S. way, by which we reckoned thirty-three leagues and one third of a league.

October the 4th. We had a clear night, and a very freſh wind: we reckoned by a S. E. by E. way, and thereby forty-three leagues. An obſervation taken ſhewed us, that we were in lat. 41 deg. 34 ſouth. This day alſo fell ſeveral ſhowers of rain.

October the 5th. We had a windy night the laſt paſt, and clear day. We reckoned a S. S. E. half E. way, and forty-four leagues and two thirds. By an obſervation made, we found lat. 43 deg. 26 ſouth. The weather now was very windy, cauſing a huge tempeſtuous ſea. The wind at N. W. and N. W. by N. blowing very high.

October the 6th. This day the wind was ſtill at N. W.

N. W. and yet not ſo freſh as it was yeſterday; the weather very foggy and miſty: as for the wind, it came in guſts, ſo that we were forced to hand our top ſails and ſpritſail. We reckoned a S. E. half S. way, and thereby forty-three leagues, and one third of a league. The ſeas now were not ſo high, as for ſome days paſt: in the evening we ſcudded away under our fore courſe.

Friday, October the 7th. Laſt night was very cloudy, and this day both dark and foggy weather, with ſmall rain. We made a S. E. way, and thirty leagues and two thirds: a freſh wind at N. N. W. and N. W. We kept ſtill under a fore courſe, not ſo much for the freſhneſs of the wind, as the cloſeneſs of the weather.

October the 8th. We had a clear night the night paſt, and withal a ſtrong gale; inſomuch, that this day we were forced to take in our fore-ſail, and looſen our mizen, which was ſoon blown to pieces. Our eldeſt ſeamen ſaid, that they were never in the like ſtorm of wind before; the ſea was all in a foam: in the evening it dulled a little. We made a S. E. half E. way, and eighteen leagues, with very dark weather.

Sunday, October the 9th. All the night paſt we had a furious W. N. W. wind. We ſet our ſail a-drough, and ſo drove to the ſouthward very much, and almoſt incredibly, if an obſervation had not happened, which gave us lat. 48. 15 S. We had a very ſtiff gale at W. N. W. with a great ſea from W. which met with a S. S. W. ſea as great as it. Now the weather was very cold, and we had one or two froſty mornings. Yeſterday in the afternoon we had a very great ſtorm of hail: at noon we bent another mizen.

Monday, October the 10th. This day brought us a freſh wind at N. N. W. We made a S. E. half E. way

way, and by it forty-four leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 49 deg. 41 S. I reckoned myſelf now to be eaſt of Paita ſixty-nine leagues and a half.

Tueſday, October the 11th. Laſt night we had a ſmall time calm. This day was both cloudy and rainy weather. The wind at S. W. and S. S. W. ſo furious, that at ten this morning we ſcudded under a main-ſail: at noon we lowered our fore-yard while we ſailed. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty leagues.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Bucaniers arrive at a place unknown to them, which they new-name the duke of York's iſlands. A deſcription of the ſaid iſlands, and of the gulf, or Lagoon, wherein they lie, ſo far as it was ſearched. They remain there many days by diſtreſs of weather, not without great danger of being loſt. An account of ſome other things remarkable that happened there.

WEdneſday, October the 12th. All laſt night we had many high winds. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and twenty leagues; for our veſſel drove at a great rate. Moreover, that we were in lat. 50 deg. 50 S. So that our eaſting from Paita by my account ought to be 101 leagues or thereabouts.

This morning about two hours before day, we happened by great accident to eſpy land: it was the great mercy of God, which had always attended us in this voyage, that ſaved us from periſhing at this time; for we were cloſe aſhore before we ſaw it, and our fore-yard, which we moſt needed on this occaſion, was taken down. The land we had ſeen was very high and towering, and there appeared to be

be many iſlands ſcattered up and down. We ſteered in with what caution we could, between them and the main, and at laſt arrived at a place, or rather bay, where we perceived ourſelves to be land locked, and, as we thought, pretty ſafe from the danger of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas. From hence we ſent away our canoe to ſound and ſearch the fitteſt place for anchoring. At this time one of our men, named Henry Shergall, as he was going into our ſprit-ſail top, happened to fall into the water, and was drowned before he could have any help, though we endeavoured it as much as we could. This accident ſeveral of our company did interpret as a bad omen of the place; which proved not ſo, through the providence of the Almighty; though we were not clear of dangers neither, as I ſhall relate.

We came to an anchor in about forty fathom water, at a ſtone's caſt only from ſhore. The water where we anchored was very ſmooth, and the high lands round about all covered with ſnow. Having conſidered the time of the year, and all other circumſtances, we reſolved, that in caſe we could find a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions here, we would ſtay the longer, that is, till the beginning of ſummer, or ſomething longer, before we proſecuted our intended voyage homewards through the ſtreights of Magellan; which now we began to be careful how to find. That day we anchored in this bay, we ſhot ſix or eight brave geeſe, beſides ſome ſmall fowl. Here we found many hundreds of muſcle banks, all which were very plentifully ſtocked with that kind of fiſh. We buried our dead man on the ſhore, giving him ſeveral vollies for his funeral rites, according to cuſtom. At night our anchor came home, ſo that we were forced to let go a grappling to ſecure ourſelves. But ſtill every flaw of wind drove us. Hereupon we ſet our ſprit-ſail, and ran

above a mile into another bay, where we anchored again: the firſt anchor, which was the biggeſt in our ſhip, we loſt by this accident, the cable being cut by the rocks. Theſe iſlands aforementioned our captain new-named, his royal highneſs the duke of York's iſlands.

Thurſday, October the 13th. This day we began to moor our ſhip, ſhe driving, as we eaſily could perceive, with every flaw of wind that blew. The tide flows here full ſeven feet up and down: we moored our veſſel in a rocky point, being a key, whereof there be many in the circumference of this bay. The ground of the bottom of the bay we found was hard and ſandy, being here and there rocky. This evening we brought on board great ſtore of lamperts, of which we made a kettle of broth, more than all our company could eat.

Friday, October the 14th, we killed ſeveral geeſe, as alſo many fowls like an eagle, but having a bigger beak, with their noſtrils riſing from the top of the middle of their beak by a hand-trunk: this fowl liveth on fiſh. Yeſterday, in the evening, fell a great fleet of ſnow on the hills round about the bay, but none where we were at anchor. This day in the evening we caught lamperts in great quantities, three times as many as we could eat. Our men, in ranging the key for game, found graſs plaited above a fathom long, and a knot tied to the end thereof: on the other keys they found muſcles and lampert-ſhells. Hence we concluded theſe countries were inhabited, and that ſome Indians or others were to be found hereupon.

Saturday, October the 15th. The night paſt we had much rain, with large hail ſtones. About midnight the wind came to north with ſuch great fury, that the tree, to which our cable was faſtened on ſhore, gave way and came up by the roots.

All

All thoſe guſts of wind were mixed with violent ſtorms of rain and hail: we faſtened again to other trees; but here it happened, that our ſhip coming up to the ſhore, our rudder touched, and broke our gooſe neck: great was now our danger, and greater it would have been, if it had not pleaſed God to ſend us better weather. Scarce a minute now paſſed without ſlaws of wind and rain.

Sunday, October the 16th. All night paſt was rainy, as before. About nine o'clock our biggeſt haulſer gave way and brake. All this day likewiſe we had rain, with ſeveral ſhowers of hail, and but little wind at north-weſt.

Monday, October the 17th. Laſt night, till five this morning, it ceaſed not to rain: then till ten it ſnowed: on the hills it ſnowed all the night long. This day we hunted on the ſhore many tracks of people, but could fine none, they having fled and concealed themſelves for fear of us, as we ſuppoſed.

October the 18th. The night paſt we had much rain and hail; but the day was very clear and pretty warm. Hereupon we made an obſervation, which gave us lat. 50 deg. 40 S.

October the 19th. The night paſt was clear and froſty: this day was hazy, and ſomething windy from the north quarter. Every day we had plenty of lampets, and muſcles of a very large ſize.

October the 20th. The night paſt was rainy; and this day great guſts of wind at N. N. W. till the afternoon: then we had wind at N. W. being very freſh, and in guſts.

October the 21ſt. All the night paſt was tempeſtuous, with great guſts of wind and ſhowers of hail. Yeſterday in the evening we carried a cable aſhore, and faſtened it to a tree: this being done, at midnight our biggeſt cable broke in the middle.

Towards morning we had much ſnow; in the day, great guſts of wind with large hail-ſtones. We caught great plenty of lamperts.

October the 22d. Laſt night we had ſtrange guſts of wind from N. W. together with much hail and rain. This day we killed a penguin, and began to carry water on board.

October the 23d. For twenty-four hours paſt we had much rain: the wind was but little at W. and W. S. W.

October the 24th. All this time till noon nothing but rain. At that time it held up for half an hour, or thereabouts, and then it rained again all the reſt of the day.

October the 25th. All this while we had not one minute fair: towards evening it held up, but the weather was cloudy, and withal much warmer, than when we came hither at firſt.

Wedneſday, October the 26th. All night paſt, and this forenoon, we had fair weather; but after noon it rained again. We found cockles like thoſe we have in England.

Thurſday, October the 27th. Laſt night we had much rain, with very great guſts of wind all night: notwithſtanding, this day proved to be the faireſt that we had had ſince we came into this place. In the evening, our canoe, which was gone to ſearch the adjacent places for Indians, or what elſe they could find, returned to the ſhip, with a doree at her ſtern. They had gone, as it ſhould ſeem, beyond the old bay where we firſt anchored, and thereabouts happened to meet with this doree: in it were three Indians, who perceiving themſelves nigh being taken, leaped over-board to make their eſcape. Our men in purſuing them did unadviſedly ſhoot one of them dead: a ſecond, being a woman, eſcaped their hands; but the third, who was a luſty boy about eighteen years

years of age, was taken, whom they brought on board the ſhip. He was covered only with a ſeal's ſkin, having no other cloathing about him: his eyes were ſquinted; and his hair pretty ſhort. In the middle of the doree they had a fire burning, either for dreſſing of victuals, or ſome other uſe. The doree itſelf was built ſharp at both ends, and flat-bottomed. They had a net to catch pengnins, and a club like our bandies, called by them a tomaunks: his language we could not underſtand, but withal he pointed up the lagoon, giving us to underſtand, that there were more people thereabouts: this was confirmed by our men, who alſo ſaid they had ſeen more. They had darts to throw againſt an enemy pointed with wood.

The next day, being October the 28th, in the evening, our canoe went from the ſhip again to ſeek for more Indians: they went into ſeveral lagoons, and ſearched them narrowly; but they could find nothing but two or three huts; all the natives being fled before our arrival. In the evening they returned to the ſhip, bringing with them very large lamperts, and muſcles which were ſix inches and an half long: our Indian priſoner could open theſe muſcles with his fingers, which our men could not ſo readily do with their knives. Both the night paſt and this day we had very fair weather.

The 29th, we had in like manner a very fair day, and alſo a ſmooth wind at S. S. E. Our Indian this day pointed to us, that there were men in this country, or not far from hence, with great beards: he appeared to us by his actions to be very innocent and fooliſh; but by his carriage I was alſo perſuaded that he was a man-eater. This day likewiſe we caught lamperts enough to ſuffice us for the morrow.

Sunday, October the 30th. This day was fair, and

there blew a ſmall S. S. E. wind. In the morning we ſent a canoe over to the eaſtward ſhore, to ſeek either for proviſions or Indians. I myſelf could not go, as I deſired, being, with two or three more, at that time very much tormented with the gripes. I am perſuaded, this place is not ſo large an iſland as deſcribed by ſome hydrographers, but rather a collection of ſmaller iſlands. We ſaw this day many penguins, but they were ſo ſhy, that we could not come near them: they pad on the water with their wings very faſt, but their bodies are ſo heavy that they cannot fly. The ſun had now made the weather very warm, inſomuch that the ſnow melted apace.

October the 31ſt. Both laſt night and this day were very fair: at noon our canoe returned from the eaſtern ſhore, bringing word they had found ſeveral good bays and harbours, that were deep even cloſe to the ſhore. Only there were ſeveral rocks ſunk in them, which we had alſo where we were: but theſe rocks are not dangerous to ſhipping, by reaſon they have weeds which lie two fathoms in circumference about them. This morning blew a ſmall wind at N. N. E.

November the 1ſt. This day was alſo fair, and we had a ſmall wind, as before, at N. N. E.

November the 2d. Laſt night I took the polar diſtance of the ſouth ſtar of the cock's foot, and found it to be 28 deg. 25. I obſerved alſo the two Magellan clouds, of which I made mention in this journal before, and found them to be as followeth, viz the leſſer 14 deg. 5. and the greater 14 deg. 25. In the morning we hoiſted on end our top maſt, and brought to a main top-ſail, and fore-ſail, and finiſhed our filling all the water we needed. At the ſame time the wind hung eaſterly, and I was ſtill troubled with the gripes as before.

November the 3d. This morning we hanged our rud-

rudder, the greateſt piece of work we had to do, after thoſe violent ſtorms above-mentioned. In the afternoon we haled in our two biggeſt haulſers; and alſo our biggeſt cable from the ſhore. For three days laſt paſt we had a very great and dark fog between us and the eaſtward ſhore. We had now very little wind in the cove where we were, but abroad at ſea there blew at the ſame time a ſtiff gale at S. S. E. We could perceive now, the ſtormy weather being blown over, much ſmall fry of fiſh about the ſhip, whereof we could ſee none before. This evening was very clear and calm.

November the 4th. Both laſt night and this day we had very calm weather; only a ſmall breeze in the morning ſprang up at N. and N. N. E. which afterwards wheeled about to S. and S. S. E. This morning we hoiſted our main and fore yards; and likewiſe fetched off from the ſhore our other haulſer and cable, into the depth of eleven fathom water. Our reſolutions were now changed for a departure, in order to ſeek the mouth of the ſtreights of Magellan; ſeeing we could not winter here for want of proviſions, which we could not find either on the continent, or about theſe iſlands afore-mentioned. The weather now was very warm, or rather hot, and the birds ſung as ſweetly as thoſe in England. We ſaw here both thruſhes and blackbirds, and many other ſorts of thoſe that are uſually ſeen in our own country.

Saturday, November the 5th. This morning brought us a wind at N. N. E. Hereupon we warped to a rocky point, thereby to get out of the cove where we lay: for our anchor came home to us as we were carrying our warp out. At this time a ſecond breeze came up very freſh in our ſtern; ſo that we took the opportunity thereof, and went away before it. By noon we hoiſted in our canoes, and turned looſe our Indian dorees: as for the Indian boy whom we had

taken in the ſaid doree, we kept him priſoner, and called him Orſon. When we were come out into the channel, the weather grew quite calm; only now and then we had a ſmall breeze, ſometimes from one quarter, and then from another. By this ſlackneſs of wind we obſerved, that the current hoiſted us to the ſouthward. On the eaſt ſide of this lagoon we perceived the Indians to make a great ſmoke at our departure.

We had a very fair day till ſix in the evening: when we got without the mouth of the gulf, it blew ſo hard, that in an hour it forced us to hand our top-ſails: having now a fit gale at N. W. and N. N. W. we ſtood S. W. by W. to clear ourſelves of ſome breaks which lie four leagues from the gulf's mouth at S. and S. S. E. Hereabouts we ſaw many riffs and rocks, which occaſioned us to ſtand cloſe haled.

CHAP. XXIV.

They depart from the Engliſh gulf in queſt of the ſtreights of Magellan, which they cannot find. They return home by an unknown way.

SUNDAY, November the 6th. This morning we loſt ſight of land, ſo that we could ſee it no more. All the night paſt, and this day, we were under our two courſes and ſprit-ſail: the weather this day was hazy: my reckoning was a S. W. half S. way, and by it twenty-one leagues. We had now an indifferent high ſea, and a freſh wind at N. N. W.

November the 7th. Laſt night was both rainy and ſtormy, but in the morning it cleared up. The wind for the moſt part was at W. and W. N. W. But at noon it came about at W. S. W. Our reckoning was a S. W.

S. W. by S. way, and by it twenty leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 52 deg. 3. We now ſteered away S. S. E. the wind being at that time at W. S. W. In the evening I found a variation of the needle to N. E. to the number of 15 deg. or better. I was ſtill troubled with the gripes, as I had been before.

November the 8th. We had a fair night the laſt paſt. About midnight the wind came to N. N. W. This day early, at break of day, we all were perſuaded that we had ſeen land; but at noon we found our miſtake, it being only a cloud. The wind was now at north. My reckoning was at S. E. half E. way, and thirty-two leagues and one third of a league. We had an obſervation that gave us 53 deg. 27 S. The whole day was very fine and warm, and we ſaw great numbers of fowls and ſeals.

November the 9th. Yeſterday in the evening the weather was cloudy: hereupon we lay by under a main courſe. After midnight we ſailed eaſt, and E. by N. with a freſh wind at W. N. W. and not any great ſea. The day itſelf was cloudy, and towards noon we had ſome rain; ſo at two in the afternoon we lay by under a main courſe; the wind being freſh at N. W. I reckoned an E. N. E. way, and thereby twenty-eight leagues.

Thurſday, November the 10th. All night paſt we lay under a main courſe, with a mere fret of wind at N. W. and N. N. W. day being come, the wind rather increaſed; inſomuch, that about noon our ſail flew to pieces: hereupon, we were forced to lower the yard and unbend the ſail, lying for a little while under a mizen; but that alſo ſoon gave way: ſo that all the reſt of this day we lay a hulk in very dark weather, foggy and windy, with a great ſea, which ſometimes rolled over us. In the afternoon

it ſeemed to abate for ſome ſpace of time; but ſoon after it blew worſe than before, which compelled us to lower our fore-yard.

November the 11th. All the night paſt we had furious, windy and tempeſtuous weather, from the points of N. W. and N. N. W. together with ſeas higher and higher. In the evening we ſet our mizen; at which time the ſun appeared very watery; but the wind now abated by degrees, and the ſeas alſo.

November the 12th. This morning little wind was ſtirring, only ſome rain fell. About ten it cleared up, and by an obſervation then made, we found lat. 55 deg. 25. The ſea was now much fallen, and a freſh wind was ſprung up at W. and W. S. W. We experimented alſo a very great current to the S. W. In the afternoon we ſet our ſails again, and reſolved unanimouſly to make for the ſtreights of St. Vincent, otherwiſe called the ſtreights of Fernando de Magellan. We had a freſh wind at W. N. W. our courſe being S. S. E. under our ſprit-ſail, fore-ſail, and fore-top-ſail. This day we ſaw many fiſhes, or rather fowls, who had heads like Muſcovy ducks, as alſo two feet like them. They had two fins, like the fore-fins of turtles; white breaſts and bellies; their beaks and eyes being red. They are full of feathers on their bodies, and the hinder parts are like thoſe of a ſeal, wherewith they cut the water. The Spaniards call theſe fowls Paxaros Ninos. They weigh moſt commonly about ſix or ſeven pounds, being about a foot long: our commander, captain Sharp, was ſo dexterous as to ſtrike two of them. In the evening we ſet our main-ſail; the wind now coming to weſt and by ſouth.

Sunday, November the 13th. All the night paſt, we had a freſh wind between S. W. and W. N. W.

with ſometimes miſts of ſmall rain. In the evening we had a fine leading gale at W. N. W. together with clear and wholeſome weather. We made a S. E. way, and by it forty two leagues and two thirds. This day an obſervation gave us lat. 56 deg. 55 S. We ſtill found a great S. W. current. In the afternoon we ſteered E. S. E. and in the evening had whiffling winds.

November the 14th. Both laſt night and this morning we had cloudy weather: about eight it cleared up. My reckoning was a S. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-two leagues. Our obſervation gave us lat. 57 deg. 50 ſouth. This day we could perceive land, and at noon were due weſt of it. In the evening we ſtood E. by S.

November the 15th. All the night paſt was very cloudy: we judged now that we ſhould be cloſe in with the land we had ſeen the day before; but the morning being come, we could ſee none: in the night much ſnow fell, and in the day we had great fleets thereof, the weather being very cold and cloudy. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and hereby twenty-nine leagues and two thirds; moreover, that our lat. was 58 deg. 25 S. The wind was now ſo freſh at N. that we were forced to lie under our two courſes and ſprit ſail.

November the 16th. Moſt of this time we had ſtill rain and ſnow, but now no night at all, though the weather was dark. The wind was various, but from midnight before it was at S. E. and S. S. E. We now lay E. N. E. I reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and twenty three leagues. About four in the afternoon two of our fore-ſhroud bolts broke, but withal were preſently mended. This afternoon alſo we ſaw a very large whale. In the evening we handed in our fore-top ſail, and lay under our pair of courſes, and ſprit-ſail, the evening being very clear.

November the 17th. In the night there was a very hard froſt. At four this morning we ſaw two or three iſlands of ice, the diſtance of two or three leagues ſouthward of us: ſoon after this we ſaw ſeveral others, the biggeſt of them being at leaſt two leagues round. By an obſervation made this day, we found 58 deg. 23 ſouth. We had now a vehement current to the ſouthward: at noon I ſaw many others of theſe iſlands of ice afore-mentioned, of which ſome were ſo long, that we could ſcarce ſee the end of them, and were extended about ten or twelve fathom above water. The weather in the mean while was very clear, and the wind cold. I found variation of the needle eighteen deg. to the north-eaſt.

November the 18th. All the night paſt was very fair (I muſt call it night, for otherwiſe it was not dark at all). The ſea was very ſmooth, and the wind at N. and N. N. W. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and by the ſame twenty-two leagues. At ten it fell quite calm, which held all the afternoon: but at night we had a wind again at N. and N. by E.

November the 19th. This day was cloudy with ſnow, and a froſty night preceding it. The wind now was ſo freſh at north, that we were forced to take in our top-ſails, and lie all day under our courſes and ſprit-ſail. We made by an E. S. E. way eighteen leagues and two thirds.

November the 20th. We had a cloudy night the laſt paſt, together with miſling rain and ſnow. This morning fell ſo great a fog, that we could ſcarce ſee from ſtem to ſtern of our ſhip. From ten o'clock laſt night we had alſo a calm, and very cold weather; but what was worſe than all this, we were kept to a very ſhort allowance of our ſorry victuals; our proviſions growing very ſcanty with us. About ten this morning we had a very ſmall breeze at north: ſeveral

veral of our men were not able to endure the cold, it was ſo piercing; whereby they were forced to lie and keep themſelves as cloſe as they could. We made an eaſt way, and by the ſame ſixteen leagues. This day at noon, I reckoned myſelf to be eaſt from the gulf, from whence we laſt parted, two hundred and five leagues, and two thirds of a league.

Monday, November the 21ſt. Laſt night we caught a ſmall land-fowl, and ſaw two or three more. This ſight gave us good hopes we were not far from ſome coaſt or other; yet we could ſee none all this long and tedious voyage. In the night paſt we had a calm, and all this morning a great fog, with much ſnow and rain. We reckoned an E. by N. way, and ten leagues. At one in the afternoon we had a freſh gale that ſprang up at eaſt, and at E. by N.

November the 22d. Moſt part of this day was calm; mean while we obſerved our ſhip drive eaſt. My reckoning was at E. N. E. way, and thereby thirteen leagues and one third. At one in the afternoon we had a ſmall gale at W. S. W. our courſe being N. N. E. and N. E. by N.

November the 23d. This day we had a gale at N. W. freſhening by degrees; ſo that we were forced to take in our top-ſails and ſprit-ſail. The wind was not a ſettled gale, but often varied from point to point: at noon it came at N. E. and our courſe was then N. N. W. By a north way we reckoned ſixteen leagues.

November the 24th. Both the night paſt and this morning was foggy weather, with ſome calms between whiles: but at eight in the morning the ſun brake out; yet it was not a clear day. By a N. N. E. way we reckoned fifteen leagues. This morning the wind came about to eaſt, and at noon it was

again

again at N. E. We had a clear evening, and a freſh gale.

November the 25th. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind at E. and E. N. E. inſomuch, that at eight in the morning we took in our top-ſails: but at noon the wind was not ſo freſh as before. I reckoned a N. N. W. half weſt way, and by the ſame twenty leagues.

November the 26th. Laſt night the wind was not altogether ſo freſh as before; but this morning it was again very high. The weather was dark and cloudy, with ſometimes rain and ſnow. We made a N. N. E. way, and hereby thirty leagues; the wind all along E. by S. and E. S. E. In the evening we had fair weather again. We found for the ten days laſt paſt a great weſtern ſea, and ſaw in the ſame time ſeveral ſeals.

Sunday, November the 27th. All the night paſt we enjoyed a freſh gale, and clear weather. I reckoned thirty-ſix leagues by a N. E. by N. way. By an obſervation made, we now found lat. 52 deg. 48 ſouth: and I judged myſelf to be eaſt from the gulf two hundred eighty-five leagues. In the evening we had a very exact ſight of the ſun, and found above thirty deg. variation of the needle: from whence ought to be concluded, that it is very difficult to direct a courſe of navigation in theſe parts; for in the ſpace of only twenty-five leagues ſailing, we have found eight or nine deg. difference of variation, by a good Dutch azimuth compaſs.

November the 28th. All laſt night we had a freſh wind at E. S. E. Towards morning we had but little wind, all the day being hazy weather. This day we ſaw a whole flight of ſuch land-fowls as we killed one of before: this ſight gave us further hopes we were not far from land, yet we found none in all this voyage. We made by a N. N. E. way,

thirty-

thirty-three leagues. Yeſterday in the evening we ſet a new ſprit ſail, and about three this morning we alſo ſet our main ſail. At one in the afternoon the wind came about at N. E. and N. N. E. which in the evening blew very freſh, with cloudy weather.

November the 29th. The night proved very cloudy, and the wind blew very freſh at E. N. E. and N. by E. This morning it was eaſt, both with ſnow and hail: towards noon the weather cleared up, and we found by an obſervation taken, lat. 49 deg. 45 S. Our reckoning was a north way, and thirty leagues. This day we had a ſhort eaſtern ſea, and withal a very cold evening. I took the ſun, and hereby I found variation 20 deg. 30 to the north-eaſt. This night the wind came about W. and W. N. W. continuing ſo all the night.

November the 30th. This day the wind was N. and N. N. E. with ſome clouds hovering in the ſky. At this time we had already almoſt four hours of night: the morning of this day was very fair and clear; hereupon, to give myſelf ſatisfaction in the point, as fearing the truth of Spaniſh books, I worked the true amplitude of the ſun, and found his variation to be 26° 25 to the N. E. being very conformable to what I had read and experienced before. Hereabouts alſo we found a current to the northward: this day alſo we ſaw much rock-weed, which renewed our hopes once more of ſeeing land. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the ſame twenty-two leagues. By an obſervation made we found lat. 48 deg. 53 S. This day alſo we ſaw ſeveral of thoſe fowl-fiſh afore deſcribed, called paxaros-ninos; and theſe of a larger ſize than any we had ſeen before: in the afternoon the wind came about at N. N. E. whereby we ſtood N. W. by W. with a freſh gale, and ſmooth water. The weather now began

to

to grow warmer than hitherto, and the evening was clear.

Tuesday, December the 1st. The latter part of the night past was very cloudy, and sometimes rainy: about midnight we had a violent tornado, forcing us in a moment to hand in our top-sails. At five in the morning we set them again, and at eleven we had another tornado, forcing us to hand our top-sails a second time. We made a N. N. E. two-thirds east way, and thereby thirteen leagues and two thirds of a league. The afternoon of this stormy day proved very fair, and the wind came to W. S. W. our course being N. E. by N. In the evening the wind freshened, with cloudy weather.

December the 2d. Last night we had a very furious whirlwind, which notwithstanding, it pleased God, passed about the length of our ship to westward of us: however, we handed in our top-sails, and hauled up our low-sail, in the brails. After the whirlwind came a fresh storm of large hail-stones, in the night, and several tornadoes; but, God be thanked, they all came large of our ship. We now made a great way under a fore-course and sprit-sail. At four this morning our fore-sail split, whereby we were forced to lower our fore-yard. At half an hour after ten we hoisted in again, with a furious S. W. wind. We made a N. E. by E. way, and by the same forty-seven leagues and an half. By observation we now had latitude 46 deg. 54 S. We tiffed our top-sail, with respect to the violence of the wind; but in the evening this rather increased, and we had a very great sea. Our standing rigging, through the fury of this gale, gave way in several places, but was soon mended again.

December the 3d. The wind all the night past was very fresh, with several flaws, both of wind and rain, at S. W. and S. W. by S. We enjoyed now very

very warm weather. This morning we ſet our fore-top-ſail. Our reckoning gave us a N. E. half E. way, and forty-five leagues. We found latitude by obſervation 45 deg. 28 S. This day at noon a large ſhoal of young porpuſſes came about our ſhip, and played up and down.

December the 4th. All the night paſt we had a freſh gale at W. S. W. The night was clear, only that now and then we had a ſmall cloud affording ſome rain. In the morning, from four till eight, it rained; but then it cleared up again, with a S. W. wind, and a very ſmooth ſea. We made a N. E. one quarter N. way, thirty-nine leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 44 deg. 1 S. At noon the wind came to S. S. W. our courſe then being N. N. E. This day we agreed among ourſelves, having the conſent of our commander, to ſhare the eight cheſts of money, which as yet remained unſhared. Yeſterday in the evening we let out the riff of our fore-ſail, and hoiſted up our fore-yard. This evening I found variation 17 deg. N. E.

Monday, December the 5th. All night paſt a clear night, and this a fair day, with a freſh wind at S. S. W. We reckoned a N. E. 5 deg. N. way, and by the ſame forty-two leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 42 deg. 29 S. This afternoon we ſhared of the cheſts above-mentioned, three hundred pieces of eight to each man. I now reckoned myſelf to be eaſt from my departure four hundred and ſeventy-one leagues, and one third of a league. At night again we ſhared twenty-two pieces of eight more to each.

December the 6th. We had a clear ſtar-light night the laſt, and a fair morning this day, with a freſh gale at S. W. At noon we took in our fore-top-ſail. We reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and hereby fifty leagues and two thirds. An obſerva-

tion

tion taken afforded us 47 deg. 31 S. This evening was cloudy.

December the 7th. The night was both windy and cloudy: at one in the morning we took in our top ſails, and at three, handed our ſprit-ſail, and ſo we ſcudded away before the wind, which now was very freſh at weſt. This morning a guſt of wind came and tore our main ſail into an hundred pieces, which made us put away before the wind, till we could provide for that accident. My reckoning was a N. E. three quarters E. way, and by the ſame thirty-three leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 39 deg. 37 S. We had now a great ſea, and a freſh wind. At three in the afternoon we ſet another foreſail, the firſt being blown to pieces: at the ſame time we furled our ſprit-ſail. At five the wind came at W. S. W. with very bad weather. This day our worthy commander, captain Sharp, had very certain intelligence given him, that on Chriſtmas day, which was now at hand, the company, or at leaſt a great part thereof, had a deſign to ſhoot him; he having appointed that day ſome time ſince to be merry. Hereupon he made us ſhare the wine amongſt us, as being perſuaded they would ſcarce attempt any ſuch thing in their ſobriety. The wine we ſhared fell out to three jars to each meſs. That night the wind increaſed.

December the 8th. The night paſt was both cloudy and windy; the wind very often varying between the N. W. and S. W. points. This morning it varied between W. and N. W. by W. About noon this day we brought a new main-ſail to the yard, but did not ſet it then, by reaſon there blowed too much wind. I reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and by the ſame thirty leagues. By obſervation made we found lat. 38 deg. 29 S. In the afternoon we had one or two ſqualls of wind and rain; but the

violence

violence of both fell at ſtern of us. In the evening it blew again very hard. I obſerved this day the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and found the exact variation to be 12 deg. 15 N. E.

December the 9th. The night was ſtar-light, but withal very windy. About break of day, the wind came to N. W. and at ſeven we ſet our fore-top-ſail, and ſtood N. N. E. with not much wind. We made ſince our laſt reckoning a N. E. quarter E. way, and twenty-nine leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 37 deg. 30 S. The ſea was much fallen, but our ſhip began to complain of ſeveral leaks, through our tedious and long voyage. This afternoon we hoiſted up our main-yard, and ſet up back-ſtays and main-ſwifter, whoſe ring-bolt gave way, but was mended. In the evening of this day we had but little wind.

December the 10th. The night was very clear, but till ten o'clock this forenoon we had no wind; then a ſmall breeze ſprang up at N. by E. We made an E. N. E. one third N. way, and hereby twenty-one leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 37 deg. 1 S. In the afternoon our chief ſurgeon cut off the foot of a Negro boy, which was periſhed with cold. Now it was like to be bad weather again; hereupon we furled our top-ſails, and lay under a pair of courſes; but in the evening we lay under a fore-ſail and mizen, with miſty weather.

Sunday, December the 11th. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind at N. and ſometimes at N. N. W. The weather was very cloudy with drizling rain. We made an E. way, and thereby twenty-five leagues. This day brought a great ſea. About ten in the morning, one of our main ſhrouds gave way: in the evening fell ſome ſmall rain.

December the 12th. All the night paſt we had miſty rain, and but little wind; yea, in the morning

ing a perfect calm. At noon came up a ſmall gale at E. S. E. and S. E. bringing with it cloudy weather. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by the ſame eighteen leagues. Yeſterday died the Negro boy whoſe foot was cut off by our ſurgeon, as was mentioned the day before. This afternoon alſo died another negro, ſomething bigger than the former, named Chepillo. The boy's name was Beafero. All this evening but ſmall wind.

December the 13th. All night the wind was at E. S. E. our courſe being N. N. E. At three in the morning it came about at S. S. W. and at nine at E. by N. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and fifteen leagues: the weather was hazy. In the afternoon the wind was at N. E. our courſe being N. N. W. We had now a very ſmooth ſea, and ſaw multitudes of grampuſſes, whales, and porpuſſes every day as we ſailed along.

December the 14th. The evening paſt was cloudy, as alſo the night foggy: hereupon we took in our top-ſails. At half an hour after three this morning we ſtood N. E. the wind being then at N. N. W. At five we put out our top-ſails again: at ſeven we ſaw a turtle floating upon the ſea. We reckoned a N. N. E. way. This day's obſervation afforded us 34 deg. 32 S. At this time we had very hot weather, and great dews in the night. My whole eaſting I reckoned to be now 677 leagues and one third of a league.

December the 15th. We had a fine night the laſt paſt, and a great dew. The wind in the interim was between N. and N. W. I reckoned a N. E. half E. way, and by the ſame thirty-one leagues. We had an obſervation that gave us lat. 33 deg. 46 S. At noon the wind came about at N. N. W. our courſe being N. E. We had this day a very clear evening, and at the ſame time a freſh wind.

December

December the 16th, we had a fair night and wind at N. N. W. and N. W. by N. This morning I took the ſun at its riſing; and found N. E. variation 20 deg. 30. My reckoning was a N. N. E. way, and thirty-ſix leagues, and one third of another. By obſervation I found lat. 32 deg. 9 S. At noon this day the wind came about to N. W.

December 17th. Moſt part of the laſt night the wind was at N. W. as before; but towards morning a fine and eaſy gale ſprang up at W. N. W. This morning we ſaw ſeveral dolphins playing upon the ſea, which made us hope they would at laſt befriend us, and ſuddenly ſhew us ſome land or other. We reckoned a N. E. by N. one third N. way, and by the ſame twenty-five leagues. An obſervation gave us now lat 31 deg. 4. A fair evening.

December the 18th, we had a clear night paſt, together with a ſmooth gale at N. W. which this morning was at W. by S. We had now a ſmooth ſea for ſeveral days paſt. Our reckoning was twenty-five leagues by a N.° E. by N. way. By obſervation we perceived lat. 29 deg. 48 S.

December the 19th. A clear night the laſt paſt, and a freſh breeze at S. S. W. and S. W. by S. laſting until nine in the morning: then ſprung up a wind at S. E. by E. I reckoned this day a N. N. E. half E. way, and upon the ſame thirty leagues. By obſervation made we took lat. 28 deg. 29 S. The day was very fair, and a ſmooth ſea, with weather that was very hot. My whole eaſting I reckoned now to be 760 leagues. This evening I found variation 2 deg. 50 N. E.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Bucaniers continue their navigation, without ſeeing any land, till they arrive at the Caribbee iſlands, in the Weſt Indies. They give away their ſhip to ſome of their companions that were poor, and diſperſe for ſeveral countries. The author of this Journal arriveth in England.

DEcember the 20th, 1681. The night before was ſomething cloudy, but the weather was fair and the wind but little. At noon the wind came about N. by E. our courſe being W. N. W. We made a N. N. W. way, and thereby, as I reckoned, twenty-two leagues. By obſervation made we took lat. 27 deg. 25 S. The evening was cloudy, and now and then there fell a ſhower of rain.

December the 21ſt. At eight o'clock laſt night the wind came N. W. by N. but withal, with dark weather, that we were forced to take in our top-ſails: the night was ſomething rainy, and the weather this morning calm and rainy. About ten we had a ſmall breeze at N. W. we reckoned a N. by E. way, and by the ſame ſixteen leagues. The afternoon was calm and ſtill.

December the 22d. We had a fair clear night the laſt paſt, which produced this day a ſmooth ſea, and extreme hot weather, and very little wind near the ſun; ſo that no obſervation was made.

December the 23d. The night was very fair: at midnight, or thereabouts, a freſh gale ſprang up at S. E. and E. S. E. which ſometimes was E. This freſhened by degrees. We had in the day very hot and clear weather. By a N. way I reckoned fifteen leagues.

December

December the 24th. Laſt night we had both a freſh gale, and a clear night. The wind was at E. by S. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-one leagues.

Sunday, December the 25th. This day, being Chriſtmas day, for celebration of that great feſtival we killed yeſterday in the evening a ſow: this ſow we had brought from the gulf of Nicoya, being then a ſuckling pig, of about three weeks old, but now weighed about fourſcore and ten pounds. With this hog's fleſh we made our Chriſtmas dinner, being the only fleſh we had eaten ever ſince we turned away our prizes under the equinoctial, and left the iſland of Plata. We had this day ſeveral ſtaws of wind, and ſome rain; but the weather otherwiſe was pretty clear. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and thirty-three leagues by the ſame: it was now alſo extreme hot weather, as was ſignified before.

December the 26th. We had this day ſeveral guſts of wind, which forced us to ſtand by our top-ſails; yet they were but very ſhort, and all the reſt of the while we enjoyed an indifferent freſh gale at E. and E. by S. We reckoned a N. by E. way, and twenty-eight leagues.

December the 27th. We had fair weather and a freſh wind at E. and E. by S. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and upon the ſame thirty-two leagues. The evening of this day was cloudy.

December the 28th. Laſt night was cloudy, with a freſh wind. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the ſame forty-ſix leagues. We found by an obſervation made lat. 15 deg. 30 S. My whole eaſting I reckoned this day to be 825 leagues. Now we ſaw much flying-fiſh, with ſome dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores; but they will not take the hook.

December

December the 29th. All laſt night was cloudy, with a freſh wind between E. and E. S. E. The weather all the afternoon was hazy. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and hereupon forty leagues and one third. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind, which blew very freſh. The evening was clear: at ſunſet I found variation to N. W. 4 deg. 19.

December the 30th. The night paſt was cloudy. Towards morning the wind came about at E. At ſix it came E. S. E. and at ten to S. E. by S. We made a N. by E. way, and forty-three leagues. By an obſervation we found lat. 11 deg. 3 S. The evening of this day was clear.

December the 31ſt. We had a cloudy night the laſt paſt, but the morning was hazy. We came now to a ſtrict allowance of only three good pints of water each day. We made a N. by E. way, and found lat. by obſervation 8 deg. 55 S. In the afternoon we had an E. S. E. and S. E. by E. wind. My whole eaſting I reckoned now to be 83 4 leagues and one third. At noon we ſtood away N. W.

Sunday, January the 1ſt, 1681. All the night paſt was cloudy, as this day alſo with ſome ſhowers of rain. We made a N. W. one eighth N. way, and forty leagues. In the afternoon came about a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E.

January the 2d. The weather this day was both dull and cloudy. We reckoned a N. W. one quarter N. way, and by the ſame thirty-two leagues. By obſervation we found that our lat. now was 6 deg. 6 S. The wind came pretty freſh at S. E.

January the 3d, we had ſeveral ſqualls of wind, and ſome rain; but withal a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-four leagues. The afternoon was clear, but the evening cloudy.

January

January the 4th. All the night paſt was very cloudy; but this forenoon it cleared up. Yeſterday we put a board our main top-ſail ſtudden-ſails; but we took them in at night. At four this morning we ſet our larboard ſtudden-ſail, and before noon fitted up top-gallant maſts, and yard. We made a N. W. way, and by it forty leagues and two thirds. By obſervation we had now lat. 3 deg. 9 S. This afternoon alſo we ſet up our top-gallant ſail, being forced to make out all its running rigging. The wind was pretty freſh at S. E. and S. E. by E.

January the 5th. Moſt part of the night paſt was clear and ſtar-light, though with ſome rain towards morning: this being come, we put out our top-gallant-ſail, and both our top-ſail ſtudden-ſails. At noon likewiſe we put up our fore top-gallant maſts, and yard. We caught an albicore this day, weighing about one hundred and twenty pounds weight. The wind was at S. E. by S. and S. S. E. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thereby thirty-five leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 2 deg. 3 S. We had now mighty hot weather.

January the 6th. Yeſterday in the evening we caught another albicore, which weighed only eight or nine pounds. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thirty-five leagues, as before. Now by an obſervation made, we could perceive only lat. 0 deg. 49 S. The evening of this day was very clear.

January the 7th. The wind was variable between S. S. E. and S. S. W. though not altogether ſo freſh as before. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-ſix leagues by the ſame. This day an obſervation gave us 0 deg. 32 N. of the Æquinoctial, which now we had paſſed again. In the afternoon we caught another albicore, which weighed more than the firſt; that is, between one

hundred and thirty-five and one hundred and forty pounds. But little wind ſtirring this afternoon.

January the 8th. The evening paſt we had almoſt a calm: at nine this morning we had a freſh wind at S. S. E. with dark weather, ſo that we thought it convenient to take in our main-top-ſail: but at noon we ſet it again, and alſo, our larboard top ſtudden-ſail, with both top-gallant ſails; we made a N. W. way, and by it thirty-four leagues. By an obſervation made we found lat. 10 deg. 55 N. We had now extreme hot weather, and a very ſmall allowance of water.

January the 9th. Laſt night we took in our top-ſails all night, the wind then whiffling between S. and W. points; we had notwithſtanding, for the moſt part, very little wind; the morning was rainy, ſo that we providentially ſaved a bompkin of water. There was now a great ripling ſea, riſing very high. It is reported, there is an enchanted iſland hereabouts, which ſome poſitively ſay they have ſailed over. I reckoned a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and twenty five leagues; this afternoon we had very dark and calm weather, looking as though we ſhould have much rain: now reckoning up my meridian, I found myſelf E. from my departure ſeven hundred and two leagues; in the evening we had very rainy weather, and a cockling ſea.

January the 10th. All the night paſt was cloudy, about midnight ſprang up a ſmall breeze varying all round the compaſs: at five this morning we had a breeze at S. E. and a very clear ſky, which afterwards continued to freſhen, with the ſame clearneſs as before; we made a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and by the ſame two leagues and two thirds: by a clear obſervation we had now lat. 3 deg. 16 N. At four this morning the wind was at E. S. E. the weather being violent hot, inſomuch, that our

allowance

allowance of water being ſhort, it was very tedious; at the ſame time we had an indifferent ſmooth ſea from the E.

January the 11th. All the night paſt we had little or no wind; but about two in the morning the wind freſhened again at E. N. E. and brought both a clear and hot day. We made twenty-three leagues by a N. W. one quarter W. way: this day's obſervation gave us lat. 4 deg. 6 N. In the afternoon we had a ſhower of rain, and after a freſh wind at E. N E. but the evening grew dull.

January the 12th. In the night paſt we had two or three ſqualls of wind, and ſome ſhowers of rain; in the mean while the wind blew freſh at N. E. and N. E. by E. as it alſo continued to do in the day. I reckoned a N. W. way, and forty-four leagues and one third; our obſervation this day gave us 5 deg. 49 N. Yeſterday and to-day we ſet our main top-ſail: now I could not find much variation of the needle.

January the 13th, we had a freſh gale all the laſt night; but more northerly than before; for now it was N. E. by N. We reckoned a W. N. W. way, and thereupon 3 leagues and two thirds; an obſervation taken ſhewed us lat. 6 deg. 41 N. We had a N. N. E. ſea, and very clear weather.

January the 14th, we had a clear night the laſt, and a freſh wind at E. N. E. We made a N. W. one fifth W. way, and thirty-eight leagues: by an obſervation we found lat. 7 deg. 46 N. We had a ſmooth ſea; and now we were come to only three horns of water a day, which were in all but a quart allowance for each man; the evening was clear, and we had a freſh wind.

Sunday, January the 15th. The night paſt was clear, and the wind freſh at E. N. E. and again at N. E. by E. very freſh: about eleven at night died

one of our companions, named William Stephens. It was commonly believed that he poiſoned himſelf with manzanilla in Golfo Dulce, for he never had been in health ſince that time: this forenoon was cloudy; we reckoned forty-four leagues, and a N. W. way; an obſervation gave us this day 9 deg. 18 N. All the night we kept out our top-gallant ſails; we ſaw hereabouts many large flying-fiſh: this morning alſo we threw over-board our dead man, and gave him two French vollies, and one Engliſh one. I found now again very ſmall variation.

January the 16th, we had a clear night, and a very freſh wind at N. E. and E. N. E. with a long homing ſea; my reckoning was a N. W. one ſeventh W. way, and thereby forty-eight leagues and one third. The obſervation made this day gave us latitude 10 deg. 48 N. I reckoned myſelf now eaſt from my departure five hundred fifty three leagues; we had a cloudy evening.

January the 17th. All the night paſt we enjoyed a freſh wind, and ſo this day alſo, at N. E. by N. We made a N. W. half W. way, and thereupon forty-ſeven leagues and one third of a league. By obſervation we found lat. 12 deg. 19 N. We had now a long north ſea; at noon this day we ſteered away N. N. W. The day was very hot, but the night both cool and dewy.

January the 18th. All the night paſt was both cloudy and windy; at ſix this morning our ſprit-ſail top-maſt broke; I reckoned a W. N. W. way, and forty-eight leagues by the ſame; we found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 12 N. At noon we ſteered away W. the wind being at N. E. freſh, with a clear evening.

January the 19th, we had a clear night the laſt, and freſh wind at E. N. E. which ſometimes came in puffs; our reckoning was a W. half ſoutherly way,

way, and by the ſame forty-ſix leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 1 N. Yeſterday in the evening we put up a new ſpritſail top-maſt; with a fine ſmooth gale at N. E. by E.

January the 20th. The night paſt was clear, and not very freſh; but at day-break it freſhened again. Laſt night we ſaw a great ſhoal of fiſh, whereof we caught none, by reaſon the porpuſſes frightened them from us, as they oftentimes had done before. Yeſterday in the evening we ſaw a man of war fowl, and that gave us good hopes we ſhould ere long ſee land: theſe hopes, and the great deſire we had to end our voyage, gave us occaſion this day to put in, or ſtake down, each man of our company, a piece of eight for a reward to him that ſhould firſt diſcover land. We reckoned a W. one ſixth northerly way, and by it thirty-eight leagues; an obſervation gave us this day lat. 13 deg. 11 N. The wind was at N. E. and N. E. This day we paſſed over many riplings, and ſaw abundance of fiſh; but we could take none for the porpuſſes.

On January the 21ſt, we made a W. way, and reckoned forty-ſeven leagues. By Obſervation we found latitude 13 deg. 7 N. The wind was at E. N. E. and from thence came a long ſea; the evening was very clear.

January the 22d, we had a fair and a clear day, the wind being at E. We reckoned a W. by N. one third W. way, and forty leagues; an obſervation ſhewed us lat. 13 deg. 17 N. We had a clear evening, and a freſh wind at E. N. E.

January the 23d. This day was both clear and hot, with a freſh wind at E. N. E. My reckoning was a W. way, and forty-ſix leagues: our obſervation made this day, afforded us latitude 13 deg. 15 N. In the evening we had ſome rain.

January the 24th. This day brought us likewiſe clear weather, ſuch as the day before. I reckoned a W. way, and forty leagues and one third. By obſervation we found latitude 13 deg. 12 N. The afternoon was cloudy, and had ſome rain, the wind freſhening at E. N. E. and E. by N. I reckoned now that I was E. from my departure 311 leagues. We had a cloudy evening.

January the 25th. Both laſt night and this morning the weather was cloudy. This morning we ſaw ſeveral tropick birds of divers ſorts. Our reckoning was a W. three quarters N. way, and forty-three leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 29 N. This afternoon we ſaw a booby flying cloſe aboard the horizon. The weather was hazy; and now we began to look out ſharp on all ſides for land, expecting to ſee it every minute. I reckoned myſelf to be eaſtward of my departure 268 leagues.

January the 26th. The night paſt was indifferent clear; yet notwithſtanding, this morning we had a ſmart ſhower of rain and wind: hereupon we furled the ſprit-ſail, the weather being very hazy to the weſtward. We reckoned W. way, and thereby forty-ſix leagues and one third. By obſervation taken we found lat. 13 deg. 17 N. At noon this day we had a very fierce tornado, and rainy together; but withal a clear afternoon. We had a high E. N. E. ſea, and ſaw multitudes of flying-fiſh; alſo ſeveral fowls, and amongſt theſe two or three boobies. The evening was hazy.

January the 27th. All night paſt we had a freſh wind and clear weather. This morning our fore-top-maſt back-ſtay gave way, and at day-break the ſtar-board-ſheet of our fore-top-ſail broke. We had ſeveral tornadoes this day and dark weather. Our reckoning was a W. way, and forty-eight leagues by

by the ſame. We had a clear evening, and a dark night. This day alſo a certain bird called a noddy came on board us, which we took for a certain token that we were not now very far from land.

Saturday, January the 28th. We had a very clear night the laſt paſt. About an hour before day one of our company happened to deſcry land, which proved to be the iſland of Barbadoes, at S. S. W. from us, and at about two leagues and an half diſtance from Chalky Mount, ſtanding S. W. by S. As we ſailed we ſaw ſeveral ſhips at anchor in Spike's-Road. Soon after a ſhallop paſſed by between us and the ſhore, but would not come within call of us. Hereupon we ſtood in within a mile of the ſhore, and made a whiff to a pinnace which we ſaw coming out of the road before-mentioned. She came cloſe aboard, and was the barge belonging to his majeſty's frigate the Richmond, then lying at Bridge-town at anchor. They told us of a peace at home, but would not come on board us, though often invited thereunto; neither dared we be ſo ſo bold as to put into Barbadoes; for hearing of a frigate lying there, we feared leſt the ſaid frigate ſhould ſeize us for privateers, and for having acted in all our voyage without commiſſion. So we ſtood away from thence for the iſland of Antigua.

Here I cannot eaſily expreſs the infinite joy we were poſſeſſed with all this day to ſee our own countrymen again. They told us, that a ſhip which we ſaw in the offing to leeward of the iſland was a Briſtol man, and an interloper; but we feared that ſame veſſel to be the frigate before-mentioned. I reckoned a way of twenty-five leagues, ſo that I was now, by my account, to eaſtward of my departure 151 leagues. Now we ſtood N. by W. and by obſervation found latitude 13 deg. 17 N. we being then N. W. from the body of the iſland of

Barbadoes between ſeven and eight leagues. This afternoon we freed the negro, who was our ſhoemaker by his trade, giving him his liberty for the good ſervice he had done us in all the courſe of this voyage. We gave alſo to our good commander captain Sharp, a Mulatto boy to wait on him, as a free gift of the whole company, in token of our reſpects to him, for conducting us ſafe through ſo many dangerous adventures. This being done, we ſhared ſome parcels of money, that had not as yet been touched of our former prizes; and this dividend amounted to twenty-four pieces of eight a man.

At one of the clock this day, from our foreyard we deſcried the iſland of Santa Lucia, being one of the weſtern iſlands not far diſtant from that of Barbadoes. I had omitted to tell a paſſage which happened in our ſhip on Thurſday laſt, which was the 26th day of this month, and juſt two days before we made the iſland of Barbadoes. A little Spaniſh ſhock-dog, which we had found in our laſt wine prize, taken under the æquinoctial, and had kept alive till now, was ſold at the maſt by publick cry for forty pieces of eight; his owner ſaying that all he could get for him ſhould be ſpent upon the company at a publick merriment. Our commander, captain Sharp, bought the dog, with intention to eat him in caſe we did not ſee land quickly. This money, therefore, with one hundred pieces of eight more which our boatſwain, carpenter, and quarter maſter had refuſed to take at this laſt dividend, for ſome quarrel they had againſt the ſharers thereof, was all laid up in ſtore till we came to land, in order to be ſpent on ſhore at a common feaſt or drinking bout. At ſunſet the iſland of Santa Lucia bore W. S. W. from us, and was

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at ten leagues diſtance.: alſo the iſlands of Martinico bore N. W. by W. of us at 12 or 13 leagues diſtance. We had this day a very clear evening.

Sunday, January the 29th, we had a clear night, and a freſh wind at E. by N. and at E. N. E. Our reckoning was a N. N. W. half W. way, and hereby forty-ſix leagues. By obſervation we took latitude 15 deg. 45 N. At noon this day we ſaw the iſland named la Deſſeada, or the Deſired Iſland, which then bore N. W. from us, and ſeemed to be at about eight leagues diſtance. At ſix in the evening we ſaw Marigalante, another of the Caribbee iſlands, at S. W. by W. from us, and that of Guadalupe, ſtreaking itſelf in ſeveral hammocks of land, both weſtward and northward; and alſo la Deſſeada above-mentioned at S. E. which from thence ſhews like table-land, and at each end hath a low point running out. At ſix this evening it was W. S. W. and at five or ſix leagues diſtance from us. At the ſame time we ſaw the iſland of Monſerrat at a great diſtance, and making three round hammocks cloſe together. This evening we caught an albicore of twenty pounds weight.

Monday, January the 30th. We had a fair night all the laſt paſt, and a freſh wind: hereupon, all night we hauled up our main-ſail in brails, ſtanding at the ſame N. by W. with the wind at E. N. E. At midnight we ſtood N. W. At three in the morning we lay by till five; then we ſtood away W. N. W. till ſix; and then ſtood W. At eight of the clock we ſaw the iſland of la Antigua, called by us Antego, to the ſouthward of us, making three round hammocks of land, and a long high hill to northward: hereupon we ſtood W. S. W. for it. At noon we found lat. 17 deg. N. the iſland being then juſt W. from us.

We came about to the ſouth of the iſland, and ſent a canoe aſhore to get tobacco, and ſuch other

neceſſaries as we wanted; and alſo to aſk leave of the governor to come into port. The gentry of the place and common people were very willing and deſirous to receive us. But on Wedneſday, February the firſt, the governor flatly denied us entry; at which all the gentry were much troubled, ſhewing themſelves very kind to us. Hereupon we agreed among ourſelves to give the ſlip to thoſe of our company who had no money left them of all their purchaſe in this voyage, having loſt it at play; and then put ourſelves on board two ſhips bound for England. So I myſelf and thirteen more of our company, went on board captain Robert Porteen's ſhip, called the Liſbon Merchant, and ſet ſail from la Antigua, February the 11th, and landed at Dartmouth in England, March the 26th, anno 1682.

A JOUR-

A

JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE

Made into the

SOUTH-SEA,

BY THE

BUCANIERS OR FREEBOOTERS OF AMERICA;

From the Year 1684, to 1689.

Written by the Sieur RAVENAU DE LUSSAN.

To which is added

The Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the FREEBOOTERS, on the Coaſt of Guinea, in the Year 1699.

CERTIFICATES.

A certificate given by the governor of St. Domingo, to the author of this journal, concerning the ſervice.

The Sieur de Cuſſy, his majeſty's governor of the Tortoiſe Iſland, and the coaſt of St. Domingo.

WE do certify, That the Sieur Ravenau de Luſſan hath ſerved in a company of fourſcore and four men with the Sieur Lawrence de Graff, in the quality of an enſign againſt the Spaniards, his majeſty's enemies; and that having gone into the South-Sea, he fell into the company of other free-booters, from whence not being able to return, but by the force of their arms, he has given upon thoſe occaſions ſignal proofs both of his zeal and courage. In teſtimony whereof we have given him this certificate, to which we have affixed our ſeal, and ordered our ſecretary to counterſign the ſame.

Given at the Fort of Port-Paix, the 17th of May, 1688.

DE CUSSY.

By the governor's command,

BOYER.

A copy of a letter written by monſieur De Cuſſy, his majeſty's governor of the Tortoiſe Iſland, and coaſt of St. Domingo, to monſieur de Lubert, treaſurer-general of the marine, upon the ſubject matter of this author's journal.

SIR,

I HAVE taken notice from thoſe letters you have done me the honour to write unto me the preceding years, that you intereſt yourſelf in the affairs of the Sieur Ravenau de Luſſan; wherefore, Sir, I have thought it my duty to inform you of his return from the South-Sea, with two hundred and ſixty of his comrades, who got clear out of that country by the performing of wonderful actions, the particulars whereof I ſhall not enter upon, ſince he will have the honour to give you an exact and faithful account of them himſelf, being the only perſon of all the company that has kept a journal.

I was in hopes to have got him embarked in the king's ſhip called The Marine, which was to be gone in two days; and monſieur de Beaugeau the commander promiſed me to give him his table upon your account; but the ſaid Sieur de Luſſan thinking the frigate to be gone, ſtaid with me at Port-Paix, to wait an opportunity of meeting with another ſhip that ſhould be bound directly for Dieppe. I heartily wiſh, Sir, I could meet with an opportunity of ſerving you in theſe parts; I ſhould do it with exceeding pleaſure, as being, with all deference and reſpect imaginable,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

At the Cape, DE CUSSY.

May 7, 1688.

A copy

A copy of another letter written by the ſaid monſieur de Cuſſy to the father of the author of this journal.

SIR,

I CANNOT let your ſon be gone without teſtifying to you how much concerned I am in the ſatisfaction and joy you will have to ſee him in return from ſo long and toilſome a voyage, as I am confident of your being ſorry at preſent, that I had not ſent him home to you at the time you deſired, which yet I ſhould not have failed to do, had he not been abſent, and at whoſe return I delivered him one of your letters, which I always preſerved ſafe with thoſe of monſieur de Lubert. He has no occaſion to make uſe of me, though I have made him an offer of my utmoſt ſervice. I may ſay, without vanity, that he has made the greateſt and fineſt voyage in our age, and that he has ſeen countries which a great many people in the world content themſelves to view in maps, without deſiring any other ſight of them, though they had all the riches thereof beſtowed upon them for their pains. Beſides the pleaſure you will have to ſee your ſon again, you will have alſo that of hearing him diſcourſe, pertinently enough, of his voyage and adventures; there being no other beſides himſelf of all the company that can give an exact account thereof, as having all along applied himſelf to keep a very punctual journal of all tranſactions, which I am confident will be pleaſing to my lord marquis de Signelay. I have myſelf the honour to write to him concerning it, that ſo I might engage your ſon to go and preſent it to him, which perhaps otherwiſe he would not have adventured to do, out of the

the little eſteem himſelf has of his own work. This is what offers itſelf at preſent for me to write to you, aſſuring you, I ſhould take a deal of pleaſure to find myſelf in any condition to ſerve him, and that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient Servant,

At the Fort of Port-Paix,
May the 18*th.* 1668.

DE CUSSY.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

CHAP. I.

A journal of a voyage made by the free-booters into the South-Sea, 1684, and in the following years.

IT is no very uncommon thing for a child, that is a native of *Paris*, to go and ſeek his fortune abroad, and to entertain a fixed deſign of becoming a man engaged in hazardous adventures. This city, within which moſt of the wonders of the world are contained, and which is perhaps the greateſt that can be met with, ought, in my opinion, to have the preference of any other upon the face of the earth. But who is he that can penetrate into the ſecrets of nature, and give a reaſon for ſome ſort of inclinations ſhe works in the minds of mortals; as for myſelf, I confeſs I am not able to give an account of the depth of my deſires; and all that I can ſay, is, that I have always had a moſt paſſionate diſpoſition for travel. Scarce was I ſeven years old, when, through ſome innate notions, whereof I had not the maſtery, I began to ſteal out of my father's houſe: it is true, my firſt rambles were not far, becauſe my age and ſtrength would not allow them to be ſo; but they were ſo much the more frequent; and I have often given my parents the trouble to look after me in the ſuburbs, and that place we call la Viletre: however, as I grew up, my excurſions were the larger, and by degrees I accuſtomed myſelf to loſe ſight of Paris.

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This rambling ſort of humour was accompanied with another, which I dare not dignify with the name of a martial one, but was ſuch as wrought in me an ardent deſire to ſee ſome ſiege or battle: I could not hear the noiſe of the drum in the ſtreets without thoſe tranſports of mind, the remembrance whereof does ſtill operate a kind of a vigorous heat and joy in me. It ſo fell out at length, that I met with an officer, with whom I had but a ſlender acquaintance; but my warlike genius quickly inclined me to make him my friend. I looked upon him as a perſon who could be very ſerviceable to me in my deſigns; and it was with this proſpect I applied myſelf to manage him. The ſiege of Conde being happily commenced at this time, and he being obliged to ſerve there with his company, I made him the offer of a ſword that had hitherto done neither good nor harm to any man, but which I was paſſionately deſirous to make uſe of. Here it was that he gave me the firſt inſtances of his friendſhip, for he took me freely along with him, and kept me all the campaign; at the breaking-up whereof I returned with him, no ways diſcouraged, or weary of war, as the greateſt part of them are, who have had but juſt a taſte of it. And this I tell you was my firſt adventure.

The ſecond was not quite ſo good in regard to the ſucceſs that attended it, though it was alike agreeable to my palate, and according to my heart's deſire. I happened to become a cadet in the marine regiment, but I fell into the hands of a captain who was wondrous ſkilful to drain children of good families of their money; ſo that this campaign, wherein I hoped to have done the king ſome ſervice, was worn away in expences. My father gave more than he ſhould, or I deſerved, to get my diſcharge, and to ſet me once at full liberty to take what I liked beſt;

beſt; it was not perhaps his inclination I ſhould do ſo, but it was mine, and I was not long to ſeek.

God, who, it ſeems, was not willing to make me out of conceit with the trade, was ſo much the better guide unto me at this time, as I was ſo ill-guided before; for monſieur the count d'Avegean, whoſe perſonal merit has ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed him in the body of the French guards, took me along with him to the ſiege of St. Guiſlane, where I failed not to meet with new pleaſures in the uſe of arms, though it were never ſo hot. There were a great many men's lives loſt at this ſiege, which yet did not cool the deſire I had to hazard my own: and though my parents, who could not well brook this my gadding humour, were in hopes the fatigues of war would cure me of it, they were miſtaken in the matter; for I was no ſooner got upon the ſtones of Paris, but I grew weary of being there. I had nothing but voyages in my head, and thoſe that were longeſt, and moſt accompanied with dangers, appeared to me to be the beſt. For a perſon never to get out of his native country, and to be ignorant how the reſt of the earth ſtands, appeared to me a matter that ſhould be appropriated to a woman only: whereas it was my judgment, that a man ſhould never be confined to one place, and that nothing could ſuit him better than to make himſelf acquainted with all thoſe of his own ſpecies. To travel by land, I thought both long and difficult, and therefore I concluded I could ſooner and more ſafely accompliſh my deſigns by betaking myſelf to the ſea; and now you find me ready to go on board.

There was nothing omitted on the part of parents, that were full of tender affections for an extravagant child, to divert me from my reſolution: but as to young men, ſuch as I was, it may be ſaid,

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as is uſually done of womenkind: that "what they "will, God wills;" and to ſay the truth, I was over-ruled by my inclination herein; wherefore when they perceived, that abſolutely to oppoſe my humour would make me but the more opiniative, they propoſed I ſhould take a voyage for St. Domingo, where I ſhould find friends and protection in caſe of need; and as this exactly ſuited both with my deſires and deſigns, and that provided I could get to ſea, I did not care whither bound, I very readily obeyed.

Dieppe was the place where I embarked, and from whence I parted on the 5th of March, 1679, with greater ſatisfaction of mind than I am well able to expreſs. That element, which to the generality of men ſeems very frightful, appeared to me the moſt amiable and delightful of any in the world. The winds, if I may ſay ſo, wrought in me ſome delight; for I found that almoſt every little blaſt brought us happily onwards on our way: and I was ſo overjoyed to find myſelf in ſo deſireable an iſland, that I thought no more of the hazards my voyage made me liable to. Let no man therefore be amazed thereat, if he finds none of them contained in my journal: and ſeeing there are other perſons who have been particular enough in their relations given of this paſſage, I have this only to ſay, that I ſafely arrived, through the mercy of God, at St. Domingo; and if any one has the curioſity to follow me in my remaining expedition he muſt begin from thence.

I continued there, however, for above three years, not only to ſee the country, but through ſuch conjunctures as would not admit me to go out of it. I found myſelf chained there to a Frenchman, that was ſo far from deſerving the name of one, that his hardened malice much better became a Turk. But what miſery ſoever I have undergone with him, I freely

freely forgive him, being reſolved to forget his name, which I ſhall not mention in this place, becauſe the laws of chriſtianity require it at my hands; though as to matter of charity he is not to expect much of that in me, ſince he on his part has been every way defective in the exerciſe thereof upon my account. But my patience was at laſt quite worn out, being weary of thoſe cruelties, whereof I ſaw no end: I made my complaints to monſieur de Franqueſnay the king's lieutenant, who acted as governor ſince the other's deceaſe, and whoſe generoſity proved to be a ſanctuary to me: he readily conſented to take me to his own houſe, where I ſtaid ſix whole months.

I had borrowed money in the mean time, and I thought it was the part of an honeſt man to repay it. My parents would have been perhaps very willing to have paid my debts, but they could hear nothing from me, nor I from them; and the letters they ſent me, paſſed through ſuch officious hands, that they ſpared us the charge of poſtage. I was therefore neceſſitated to ſeek out ſome other way to free myſelf: and this I found in meeting with that which ſatisfied the natural inclination I had for travelling. I bethought myſelf of making one of the Free-booters gang, to go a voyage with them, and to borrow, for the payment of my debts, as much money as I could from the Spaniards. Now theſe ſorts of borrowings have this advantage attending them, that there is no obligation of repayment, as in our country, they being eſteemed the product of a juſt war; and ſeeing the place of action is beyond the Line, there is no talk there of making any reſtitution: beſides which, we may alſo obſerve in this place, that there was then a rupture between the two crowns, and that we had a formal commiſſion from my lord admiral to infeſt the Spaniards.

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There was no queſtion to be made, but I could find a captain that would receive me; and I was not long in making the choice, ſince there were not many of them at that time to pitch upon. Laurence de Graff was the man I moſt fancied, who would make a ſpecial corſair; and though he had not been long arrived, all that he wanted, was to be gone as well as I. We were in a few hours time ſatisfied with each other, and became ſuch friends, as thoſe are wont to be who are about to run the ſame riſque of fortune, and apparently to die together. This laſt indeed we ſhould have reckoned upon with the moſt appearance of reaſon, but it was what we leaſt thought of. My departure took up all my thoughts: I furniſhed myſelf with arms and other ſmall neceſſaries, at the charge of monſ. de Franqueſnay, who was very ready to advance me ſome money, which I have paid him ſince, and whoſe kindneſs I ſhall never forget. At laſt the day came, and I muſt freely ſay, it was, in my opinion, one of the beſt in the courſe my life. On the 22d of November, in the year 1684, we departed from Petit-Gaves, on the coaſt of St. Domingo, to the number of 120 men, on board a prize taken ſome time before, captain Laurence de Graff, from the Spaniards, which they ſent as an advice-boat from Carthagena on the Terra Firma of America, to Spain. Our deſign was to go and join ourſelves with a fleet of Free-booters, which we were in hopes to meet with before the Havanna, a great city in the iſle of Cuba to the north, and about fourteen leagues diſtant from St. Domingo.

We anchored on the 4th of December at the Tortoiſe Iſland to take in water, and on the 6th ſailed away in order to return to the coaſt of St. Domingo, which is but three leagues off, where we arrived the 12th, and caſting anchor at Cape Francis, we took in our full ſtore of water and wood. We left

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this place on the 17th, and were taken with a north wind two leagues from the road in ſuch a manner, that we loſt our ſhallop, which was too big to be put upon our gibbet. Towards evening we ſailed back to a place of ſafety, whereby we were obliged to ſtay two days waiting for a canoe we had ſent to buy at the cape, from whence we came, ſuch things as we wanted, for making up the loſs of our ſhallop.

On the 20th, we made ready to endeavour to rejoin the Victorious, a ſhip that came with us from the cape, belonging to Nantes, and bound to the Iſles of the Wind, which had on board the commander of St. Laurence, lieutenant-general of the French Iſlands and the coaſts of the Terra-Firma of America, and monſieur Begon, intendant of juſtice, policy, and the finances of that country, to whom we ſerved as convoy, leſt they ſhould have been attacked by the Spaniſh periaugues that cruize thereabouts. And indeed we had a great deal of reaſon to be concerned for the ſafety of thoſe gentlemen, who were in much eſteem with all the colonies of the iſlands, becauſe of the good order they kept, the exact juſtice they adminiſtered, and the tranquillity the people enjoyed under them; but we could not poſſibly get ſight on this ſhip, as not knowing what courſe ſhe ſteered.

The three-and-twentieth we ſteered our own courſe, and in the evening diſcovered a ſhip to leeward of us, to whom we gave chace; but ſhe braced to, to wait for us; and when we were come up with her, we found it was captain le Sieur of Dieppe, who commanded a flute called the Aramantha, whom we quickly left, keeping our own courſe. But on the five-and-twentieth, which was Chriſtmas-Day, we had a great calm till next day, when the wind proving contrary, obliged us to put back to the port of Plata,

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on the coaſt of St. Domingo, where we ſtaid to the end of the month.

On the firſt of January in the new year 1685, we doubled cape St. Francis, and next day by ten in the morning did the ſame by Cape Cabron, as we doubled that of Savona towards noon, they being all ſituated on the ſame coaſt; and that day one of our men died.

On the fourth we ſailed in ſight of la Mena; next day coaſted the iſle of Porto Rico, and la Savona, and then ſteered ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth, till the eleventh, when we diſcovered the iſles of Ave, towards which we bore till the evening, and doubled them on the twelfth about eleven in the morning, keeping ſtill the ſame courſe till we came to the iſle de la Roca; where there was alſo another rendezvous of our men of war to be, which we were going to ſeek out.

On the thirteenth, at ſeven in the morning we diſcovered the main land of America, and were becalmed next day, which continued to the fifteenth at noon, when we had a freſh gale, and ſteered north-north-eaſt till the ſeventeenth, when about moon-ſetting we deſcried two ſhips and four boats to windward of us, about a cannon's ſhot diſtance, that had the cape of us, which brought us upon deck to make all ready.

One of theſe boats on the eighteenth, by break of day, being a tartane commanded by captain John Roſe, as not knowing us preſently, came up and haled us; and as our captain had a commiſſion from the lord high-admiral of France, the count of Tholouſe, we made anſwer from Paris, and put out our flag; but Roſe, who would not know us ſo, believing we had no other intention in feigning ourſelves to be a king's ſhip than to get clear of him, gave us two guns to make us ſtrike, inſomuch, that taking him really

really for a Spaniard, we knocked out the heads of two barrels of powder, in order to burn ourſelves and blow up the ſhip, rather than fall into the hands of thoſe people, who never gave us quarter, but were wont to make us ſuffer all imaginable torments, they beginning uſually with the captain, whom they hang with his commiſſion about his neck: but one of the two ſhips came up with us in a moment, and knowing what we were gave us a ſignal, which was ſo much the more ſatisfaction to us, that inſtead of enemies, which we took them to be, they proved to be not only friends, but thoſe very ſhips we were in queſt of, which obliged us to put in at the Cape, and ſpend that day to viſit one another.

One of theſe two ſhips belonged to captain Michael Landreſſon, and was called The Mutinous, but formerly The Peace; and the other to captain Laurence de Graff, whoſe name was The Neptune, but once The Saint Francis, and which he had quitted when he went in his prize to Saint Domingo to get a new commiſſion of the governor, his own that he had being then expired. The firſt of theſe ſhips carried fifty pieces of cannon, and the other forty-four, and had both of them been two Spaniſh armadillas, who the year before coming out of Carthagena, to take the ſhips commanded as well by the captains Laurence and Michael, as thoſe of captains John Quet and Le Sage, were themſelves taken by thoſe whom they were about to become maſters of: and as for the four boats they were commanded by other captains, whoſe names were Roſe, Vigneron, La Garde, and an Engliſh traitor from Jamaica; by them we were informed that they were watching in that place for the patach of Marguerita, and a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, which they expected would ſail that way, in order to take them.

On the nineteenth we reſolved to quit that poſt, and did all we could to get up with the iſle of Curaſſo, a great part whereof belongs to the Hollanders. We ſailed in ſight of thoſe of Bonnara and Roube; and about two in the afternoon of the ſame day we chaſed a Flemiſh boat that came from the port of Guaira on the continent, and was returning to the town of Curaſſo, two leagues to leeward of which we anchored that evening in the port of Sancta Barba.

On the twentieth we ſent away a boat under the command of La Garde to the town to aſk the governor leave to buy us maſts for captain Laurence's ſhip, that had loſt them in a hurricane near the iſle of St. Thomas; but this he abſolutely refuſed, and ſhut up the gates againſt us. Upon the boat's return, and relation given us of the govenor's refuſal, I carried him a copy of our commiſſion, hoping to engage him by that means to grant us our requeſt; but he ſtill perſiſted to deny us, while a part of our crew ſcrupled not in the mean time to go aſhore, and enter into the town, after having left their ſwords behind them at the gate.

On the twenty-third our ſhips weighed anchor, in order to ſail for Santa Cruz, which ſtands ſeven leagues to leeward of this town; and in our paſſage by the fort we ſaluted it, and they returned us gun for gun: but the governor finding we were two hundred men of us in the town, informed us on the twenty-fourth, by beat of drum, that it was his pleaſure we ſhould be gone, and return forthwith on board our ſhips, and that he would give us ſhallops to carry us thither, provided we paid him two pieces of eight a man. I preſently diſcerned it was his will we ſhould not go back by land, becauſe we muſt for that purpoſe croſs a lake that ſtands at the foot of the fort, which he had forbidden us to

paſs; and this made me go and tell him, we gave him thanks for his ſhallop, that if we were minded to go by ſea to rejoin our ſhips, we had periaugues to carry us thither; and that we had no other deſign to get to them by land but for a walk's ſake: to which he anſwered, 'That the inhabitants there 'ſcrupled to let us ſee their iſland;' but for all that he would not let us paſs over the lake, and ſo we were two days before we could reach Santa Cruz, where our ſhips were waiting for us.

We came afterwards to know the reaſon of the governor's diſpleaſure againſt us, which was, that captain Laurence and captain Michael's ſhips had taken two Dutch ſhips before the Havannah, that were freighted for the Spaniards, having two hundred thouſand pieces of eight that belonged to their company, which the free-booters meddled not with, being at peace with that nation; and they eaſily perſuaded their principal that all had been taken from them, and ſo we were puniſhed for the knavery theſe Dutchmen practiſed towards their own people.

Though this iſland of Curaſſo be well enough known in France, I cannot but take notice, as I go along, that the temperature of its air is the ſame with that of St. Domingo, and produces the ſame ſort of fruits; that the land is almoſt level throughout, and the country very naked, becauſe of the little wood that grows there; but almoſt barren in ſeveral places, and produces little to the owners beſides maize and ſmall millet; yet it is watered with ſeveral ſprings and rivers. The town that ſtands upon it is ſmall, but very neat, being encompaſſed with an high though very thin wall: there is a good and ſafe port belongs to it, and the fort that commands it, as well as the town, is very regularly fortified. The inhabitants are of ſeveral ſorts of

religions, the exerciſe thereof being free; the chief of which is that of the Dutch, of the Jews, as well as of others; each of whom have their reſpective places of wörſhip in the town. The chief of their trade conſiſts in ſugar that grows there, and of wool which comes from the ſheep which breed upon the place in great numbers; beſides the ſkins of thoſe animals, as alſo of a great many oxen and cows which they keep in the loweſt and beſt watered grounds of this iſland, where it abounds in paſture. They are altogether affected to the Spaniſh nation, with whom they have the main of their trade.

On the twenty-ſeventh we made ready, and ſteered our courſe for Cape la Vella, which is on the continent of America, where we deſigned to fix ourſelves in order to wait for the patach of Marguerita, whereof I have have already ſpoken: the ſame day captain Vigneron's boat left us to return to the coaſt of St. Domingo, becauſe they had not men enough to make any thing of the enterprize, there being no more than twenty on board her.

Being come to the Cape by the thirtieth, we anchored there; and our next care was to ſet ſome centinels, to the number of fifteen, upon the top of it, to give us notice when they diſcovered the patach; but next day we thought it more adviſeable to purſue this following method to get intelligence: we ſent on the firſt of February captain Roſe's boat to the mouth of the river la Hache on the continent, inhabited by the Spaniards, and about twenty leagues diſtant from the Cape where we then were, under pretence of trading with them, but in reality with a deſign to make ſome priſoners, that ſo we might be informed whether the patach was paſſed by that way or no; for it

was

was uſual for her to take in part of her lading in that river.

While we waited for the return of this boat, I and ſome others went aſhore to view and obſerve the country about the Cape. I underſtood it was inhabited by a moſt cruel, barbarous, and ſavage Indian nation, who are neither friends to, nor have any ſociety with any other people whatſoever, no not even with the Spaniards themſelves who live round about them. They eat without any diſtinction whatever they can catch, and are afraid of nothing but ſwords and the like weapons; but as for fire-arms they matter them not at all. We were ſatisfied to have a ſight of them as we returned, without having the curioſity to make a trial of their teeth, by going farther up into the country where there was nothing to be got.

I am not able to forbear in this place to give a ſtrange example of what I am ſpeaking, and of what this people can do, whom I take to be the oldeſt free-booters of America. The marquis of Maintenon, governor of the iſle of Maragalant, who had the command of one of the king's frigates called The Witch, having taken a prize of fourteen guns, which he went on board, and finding himſelf one day ſeparated from his own ſhip, was conſtrained, in order to take in water, to caſt anchor at Boca del Drago on the Terra Firma of America, which was inhabited by the ſame Indian people as live at Cape la Valla. He brought his ſhip as near the ſhore as he could, and bringing all his cannon to bear on one ſide, he ſent under the covert of them his ſhallop, with two-and-twenty armed men, to fill their caſks with water, and puſhing upon them in ſpight of the continual fire made upon them from the cannon of the man of war, they carried her with the two-and-twenty

men for above fifty paces to land, where, after they had killed them, every one took his man upon his back, and moved them off; then they returned, and ſwimming to cut the cables of the ſhip to make her drive aſhore, they hoped alſo to ſerve thoſe on board the ſame ſauce; but as good luck would have it they had time to looſe their ſails, and to make ready to put farther off from the ſhore.

On the ſecond we put our ſhips into a carceening poſture, and on the eighth Roſe's boat returned to us, and gave an account, that as ſoon as they had anchored at the mouth of La Hache, they ſent a ſmall canoe with ſix Engliſhmen in it aſhore; they being of our crew, and at peace then with the Spaniards, who agreed with them, that next morning about ſun-riſing they would fire a gun to give the other notice to come on board to traffick with them; that in the night they had put thirty men aſhore to ſurprize thoſe of the Spaniards that ſhould paſs to-and-fro; but that the Spaniards having diſcerned the ſnare that was laid for them, fired all night, which gave all the inhabitants the alarm: that next morning our people fired their cannon of ſignal according to the agreement, and put out Engliſh colours; but it was to no purpoſe, for the Spaniards, according to all appearance, had no inclination for thoſe goods they ſuppoſed we would trade with them in; ſo that our men finding their deſign had miſcarried, weighed anchor, and ſailed away to join us.

As we were of opinion at laſt that there was no hopes the patach would paſs that way, we held a council on board our ſhip about forming another deſign; but not being able to agree with Captain Laurence (who was owner of two-thirds of the Neptune) becauſe he would have impoſed upon us, there were fourſcore and ſeven that quitted the ſhip, and went on board the prize in which we came from

Saint

Saint Domingo, and ſo left him on the thirteenth. He weighed and ſteered his courſe thitherward: captain Michael and captain John Roſe weighed alſo, and ſailed for Carthagena; and we, who were irreſolute what way to take, followed the latter.

On the twenty-fifth we had a hard eaſterly breeze, which carried us beyond a river that runs on the Terra Firma, and is by the Spaniards called Rio Grande, where we ſhould have taken in water, which continues ſweet within the ſea for three or four leagues from the mouth of it, for all it rains ſo little, and provided you take that which runs on the ſuperficies. About three of the ſame day, in the afternoon, we ſaw Our Lady de la Pompa, which is alſo on the continent, and the twenty-ſixth anchored at the iſles of Saint Bernard, from whence we parted in the evening with three periaugues only, in order to get to windward of Carthagena, to endeavour to ſeek us ſome proviſion, which they continually carry to that place, and our deſign had in effect the deſired ſucceſs.

We returned on the 18th with ſeven periaugues laden with maize, which we made good prize: by the Spaniards that were in them we underſtood that there were two galleons at Carthagena, and that the Spaniſh flota was at Porto-Bello; and that two ſhips, one carrying twenty, and the other twenty-four guns, would quickly ſet out from thence; but we did not think fit to wait for them, becauſe they could not aſſign to us any determinate time when they ſhould ſail.

On the twenty-ſecond at noon we weighed, and towards evening diſcovered Point Picaron on the continent, and the iſles of Palmas: about two hours within the night, we doubled the greateſt point of theſe iſlands. The next morning, which was the twenty-third, we found ourſelves ſeparated from captain Michael and captain Roſe, and then

it was we took a reſolution of attempting to croſs over the continent, to the end we might get into the South-Sea; in order to which we ſailed to the bay of the iſle d'Or, which is inhabited by the Indians of Sambes, that ſo we might know of them (who were our friends) what ſucceſs the other free-booters met with, who, we had been told, were gone thither ſome months before.

From the twenty-third at night to the twenty-fourth we kept to the Cape, being afraid of entering into the gulf of Arian; and that morning, by break of day, we made nearer the ſhore to diſcover where we were, and upon trial we found it to be a point of the wind in that gulf, which the currents made us to double.

Between this Gulf and Cape Matance happened a very remarkable adventure. We had on board our ſhip a ſoldier belonging to the Spaniſh galleons, whom we had taken to windward of Carthagena in one of the periaugues, whereof we found the maize before ſpoken of, who, out of deſpair to find himſelf made a priſoner, though he was very kindly uſed, took a reſolution, as appeared by what followed, to throw himſelf into the ſea, to which end he went five or ſix times upon deck without being able to put his deſign in execution, and that in all likelihood out of a ſecret reſiſtance he found within himſelf to do it; but at laſt, after ſeveral attempts, he effected the ſame, which excited my curioſity to enquire into the circumſtances thereof; I found that, contrary to what uſually happens in ſuch caſes, the body, which fell down with full force into the water, floated a long time upon the back by the ſhip's ſide, though to our apprehenſion he did all he could to drown himſelf; but when out of compaſſion, to ſave his life, we threw out ſome of our tackle for him to catch hold on, he not only refuſed

fuſed to make uſe of them, but turned himſelf upon his face, and plunged to the bottom.

On the twenty-fifth, at eleven in the morning, we arrived and anchored at the iſle d'Or, or Golden Iſland, and at the ſame time fired a gun to give the Indians notice of our coming: then we went aſhore to know what that flag was we diſcovered at a diſtance from us, where we found three men belonging to captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier's crew, who told us, that they tarried there becauſe they would not go with the other free-booters, who were on their journey to the South-Sea, under the conduct of thoſe two captains; and that as ſoon as ever they ſaw us, they had ſet up that flag as a ſignal for us to come up to them.

The ſix-and-twentieth came ſome Indians with letters on board us, which were directed to the firſt free-booters that ſhould anchor in that road, to give them notice that they were gone, to the number of an hundred and ſeventy men to that ſea, and ſome ſmall time before them an hundred and fifteen Engliſh; beſides which, they alſo ſent us ſome inſtructions how to demean ourſelves towards the Indians through whoſe territories we muſt paſs, wherewith we were fully confirmed in the project we had already formed of undertaking this expedition: and though we were but fourſcore and ſeven men, yet we made ourſelves ready to be gone. In the mean time ſome other Indians came alſo on board us, by whom we were informed, that captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier were ſtill in their territories, and not yet gone to the South-Sea, which made us write to them by one of thoſe two Indians, to let them know that we were coming to them.

On the twenty-ſeventh at noon we ſaw captain Michael and captain Roſe return into the ſame port, which made us go preſently on board, to know

what made them come in and anchor in that road. They told us they had been in chaſe of a Spaniſh ſhip named the Hardy, come from Saint Jago on the coaſt of Cuba, and bound for Carthagena; but not being able to come up with her, they were come into this port, as being the nigheſt, to take in water. Then we ſhewed them the letters we had received, which wrought a deſire in many of them to come and increaſe our number, inſomuch that an hundred and eighteen men quitted Michael's ſhip, and the whole crew of captain Roſe, being ſixty-four men, who burnt their veſſel when they had paid the owners the price of it. We were not then for delaying, but on the twenty-ninth quitted our ſhips and went aſhore, where we encamped to the number of two hundred and ſixty-four perſons; but as to the ſhip belonging to our particular crew, we left her in the hands of captain Michael rather than burn her.

CHAP. II.

Our paſſage croſs the Continent of America to go to the South-Sea.

SUNDAY the [illegible] of March in the year 1685, after we had recommended ourſelves to the Almighty's protection, we ſet out under the command of captain Roſe, captain Picard, and captain Deſmarais, with two Indian guides, and about forty more of that nation, whom we took along with us for the eaſe of thoſe who were moſt burdened among us. We could not travel above three leagues that day, and encamped by a river ſide, after we had paſſed through a country that preſently diſcovered a terrible aſpect to us, and then proved very difficult to travel in, becauſe of the mountains, precipices, and impenetrable forests whereof it is full; and the difficulty of our journey was ſtill the more increaſed by the great rains that fell

full all the next day. To ſay nothing that in our aſcending the mountains, which are of a prodigious height, we were clogged with the weight of our ammunition, arms, and other iron tools we carried with us. Upon our coming down upon theſe mountains we got into a plain, which, though it was without any tracts or ways, yet appeared very eaſy unto us; but that we were obliged no leſs than four-and-forty times in the ſpace of but two leagues to croſs the ſame river, which, becauſe it ran between very ſlippery rocks, gave us a great deal of trouble to get over it, being always in danger of falling.

On the fourth we lay in an Indian carbet, which is a ſpacious ſort of a lodging, but almoſt like a barn, wherein the people are wont to meet together; there we ſtaid next day to go a hunting, where we found great numbers of deer, and all ſorts of birds. Amongſt others we ſaw a kind of animal which the Indians call Manipouryei, and we Trefoil, becauſe as they go along each of their feet leaves the print of this ſimple in the ground. This animal is as big as a ſmall bullock, but his hair is not ſo long, and more ſleek; his legs are ſhort, he has the head of an aſs, but a ſharper noſe, and walks in the bottom of the water as well as on dry land. They have here alſo a ſort of hogs, which they call Vents, becauſe of an opening place they have in the form of a navel upon their backs. We may farther take notice of thoſe beaſts they call Agoutils and Oviſtitils, which both the one and the other of them are very like thoſe we call Indian pigs in France, but much bigger. The monkeys of this country are almoſt as big as ſheep, live in foreſts, and ſeldom come down from the trees where they always find their food; they are ſo hardy, that though you ſhoot them with a fuzee in the head, or through both ſhoulders, they ſhall not fall to the ground; and many times for all

what you can do, they have ſo much cunning in their fall as to twiſt their tails, which are very long, about the branch of a tree, where they hang and waſte away, without any poſſibility of coming at them, becauſe they generally make choice of the talleſt trees for the places of their retreat.

I cannot without ſmiling call to mind what I have done to one of theſe animals, which, after I had made ſeveral ſhots at him with my fuzee that carried off part of his belly, inſomuch that his guts came out, held himſelf by one of his paws, or hands (if you will) by the branch of a tree, while he put his entrails with the other into that part of his belly that ſtill remained whole.

There was another of them whom I ſhot with a ſmall bullet acroſs his noſe, and who finding himſelf blinded with the blood that guſhed out, had ſo much induſtry as to wipe it off with the leaves of the tree whereon he ſtood. Here alſo we found harats, which are a ſort of birds as big again as parrots, to whom they are very like, even to the note they have: but their feathers are infinitely more fine; for their wings and tail, which is very long, are of ſo lively and bright flaming colour, that you cannot for ſome time fix your eye upon them without being dazzled. Here we ſaw thoſe fowls called Occos, which are pretty like unto our Indian turkey-hens, but with this difference, that they have a ſmall tuft of feathers upon their heads that reſembles a cock's comb, and a round of yellow about their eyes: they differ from one another in colour; the male's feathers being inclinable to red, whereas the female's are blackiſh, but are never found aſunder. Their partridges are larger than our Europeans, and their fleſh is whiter but not ſo good, and their note is different from ours. As to their pheaſants they are ſmaller than thoſe in Europe, and their fleſh nothing near ſo palatable, but

But their notes are much the ſame. Beſides theſe, there are in this country a multitude of other birds, with whoſe names I think it needleſs to ſwell this journal, becauſe, as the iſlands of America are full of them, there is already an exact account given of them in thoſe relations that have been made of theſe countries, and it is enough that I give a deſcription of ſuch as are not to be found in theſe iſlands, or of another kind: yet I ſhall ſay this farther, that lizzards breed here in abundance, and there are different ſizes of them; they are animals that reſemble pretty nearly thoſe whom we call cayements, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; their fleſh is good to eat, and their eggs, which are as big as pigeons eggs, have an excellent taſte, and are much better than our hens eggs. This hunting bout was a great relief to us againſt that hunger we had endured, becauſe it was the firſt repaſt we had met with, ſince our journey; but this I reckoned nothing in compariſon of the miſeries which we were to ſuffer in a vaſt number of other adventures.

At laſt, after ſix days painful and weariſome travelling, even beyond all that can well be imagined, we got to the river which the Indians and Spaniards call Bocca del Chica, that diſcharges itſelf into the South-Sea.

On the ſeventh the Indians of that place carried us to ſee trees that were proper to make our canoes of, in order to get down that river into the South-Sea. We preſently fell to work upon them with our utenſils and iron tools which we had brought along with us, after we had agreed with the captains of theſe Indians for furniſhing us in the mean time with victuals, which conſiſted in maize, potatoes, bannoes, and magniot-roots, till we had done our work, upon condition that we gave them cloth, knives, thread, needles, pins, ſciſſars, hatchets, bills,

bilis, combs, and ſuch like ſmall wares, which are in great eſteem with them; though the ſavages are not ignorant of the advantage that doth ariſe to them from theſe things.

It was partly with theſe toys that we lived and kept a good correſpondence with them during our paſſage through their country; but what made the conjuncture ſtill more favourable unto us, was the reſentment they had at that time of the ill uſage they had received at the hands of the Spaniards, againſt whom they were ſo incenſed, that they begged our aſſiſtance to be revenged on them. And had it not been for this, it would have been a very difficult taſk for us, if not impoſſible, to croſs the country againſt their will, not only becauſe of their numbers, which made them infallibly much ſtronger than we, but alſo by reaſon of the many foreſts and difficult paſſages their country is incumbered with, which we could not have gone through without we had ſome of themſelves for our guides; but for all this, we did not think ourſelves ſo ſafe amongſt theſe men, but that we kept continually upon our guard, becauſe we were well aſſured they were ſuch wretches as were at the ſervice always of thoſe that gave them moſt; and that though they appeared one minute to be our friends, they might become the next the Spaniards, who are nearer neighbours to them. Their treacherous dealings have proved fatal to ſome free-booters who have put too much confidence in them, when a ſmall number of them paſſing through their country, theſe people gave notice thereof to the Spaniards; and that they might give an exact account of their number, they took them in a defile, and as they marched along they put a corn of maes into a callabaſh for every man that paſſed by; and when they had done, carried the callabaſh to the enemy, who thereupon took their meaſures accordingly.

There

There is no ſign of religion, or of the knowledge of God amongſt them; they holding that they have communion with the devil: and in ſhort, when they would know any thing, they ſpend the night in the woods in order to conſult him; and they ſometimes foretold us ſome things that have been true in the event in every particular circumſtance of the relation they had given us. They lead a wandering and vagabond life, and fix their abode in no certain place. They generally erect their ajoupas or barracks upon a river ſide, where they continue till they have ſpent what ſuſtenance they find thereabouts; and when that is done they go and do the ſame thing upon another river, and in this manner ſpend the term of their miſerable lives. They go naked, except it be that they cover a part of their privities with a bit of ſilver or gold that is made like a candle extinguiſher; and were I but ſatisfied that they had ever ſeen ſuch a thing, I ſhould think they took their model from it.

When they feaſt, or hold other ſolemn meetings, they put on a cotton robe, all of one piece, as it is uſual with them, in a vaunting manner, to have a bit of gold or caracolay of an oval form hanging at their noſe, which is bored through, and with this they think themſelves as fine as any in the world. As for the women kind, they cover themſelves from the waiſt downwards with an herb or cotton cloth, which they make themſelves; and that they may appear finer, they colour their faces with rocou, which is a ſmall grain that dyes a brown red.

On the twenty-third, as we had finiſhed the building of our canoes, we had news brought us by an Indian, who was returned from conducting the one hundred and fifteen Engliſh before ſpoken of to the South Sea, whither they were gone before us, that they had taken, under the command of Townſley their captain, two ſhips laden with proviſion, coming

from

from Lima. He brought along with him a man of captain Grognet's crew, who was loſt in the wood a hunting, while his comrades were making their canoes in the ſame river where we were building ours.

On the twenty-eighth we received news again by an Indian captain, who had conducted captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier into the South-Sea, in a letter which they ſent us, that they would ſtay for us at King's Iſlands, and deſired us to loſe no time, but to come and have our ſhare in taking of the fleet of Peru, which they waited for: but for all the expedition we could uſe our canoes could not be finiſhed before the laſt of March, when we drew them into the river.

April the firſt we parted with fourteen canoes, carrying about twenty oars apiece, guided by twenty Indians, who made uſe of this opportunity in order to participate of the booty which they thought we were about to take from the Spaniards as ſoon as ever we got again into the South-Sea.

We reſted on the fourth to tarry for our men who were behind, and to mend our canoes that were damnified by the rocks and flats we met with all along that river. It cannot be believed what pains we had to bring them to the great water (as I may call it) for we met with places where they reſted dry, ſo that we were in a manner forced to carry them. This day died one of our men of the bloody flux, which was very rife amongſt us becauſe we were forced to faſt ſo long, and by reaſon of the hard feeding we had, and our continual dabbling in the water.

On the fifth we put on, and about evening found the river deeper, but ſo full of and encumbered with trees, which the floods had carried thither, that our canoes were in danger every minute to be loſt: and this day died two of our men.

On the ſixth we got to the great water, where the river is wider and deeper; and that day we ſpent on the banks of it to dry our ſacks, which were wet through with the great rains that fell the day before. Another of our men died this day.

From hence to the eleventh we did all we could to get quickly to the mouth of the river, where we were informed by an Indian, that was come in a ſmall veſſel to meet us, that the Engliſh and French free-booters had ſent aſhore in a little bay called Boca del Chica (that ſtands at the mouth of that river) ſome corn for our refreſhment when we ſhould get down thither; for they could gather very well by themſelves, who had been ſo ſtraightened there for proviſion, whereabouts we muſt be; and indeed we had ſo little, that we were reduced to a handful of raw maiz for each man a day.

The ſame day we received farther news, and by other Indians, who gave our guides notice to tell us, that a thouſand Spaniards being informed of our deſcent, mounted up along this river by land, with a deſign to lay an ambuſcade for us: hereupon we reſolved not to ſtir, but in the night-time, and that without noiſe, that ſo we might ſhun them; and this ſucceeded accordingly. But we fell into another incumbrance; and that was, we being ſtrangers in this country, and knowing no more than our guides, how high the tide flowed in this river, we were ſurprized with the coming in of it, and it drove us, and our canoes very far, ſo that one of them was overſet with a great tree that had fallen into the river, and upon which the ſwiftneſs of the current threw it, but it luckily fell out that no one was drowned; they quitted it for the arms and ammunition that were loſt; which could not but work ſome trouble in us to ſee our men diſarmed in a country where we could not go, but muſt have much

much uſe for them; but to deliver us of this inquietude, God was pleaſed to diſpoſe of ſome of us, who left their arms to thoſe that had loſt their own.

When we were got clear of theſe dangers, our guides adviſed us to row gently, for fear the Indian Spaniards, who were our enemies, ſhould hear us, and who lay in wait to attack us ſome leagues this ſide the mouth of the river, in a place called Leſtocada. We took their council, and when we were got over-againſt the ſaid place, where the river is very broad, we diſpoſed of our canoes in ſuch a manner, that by the favour of the night they appeared to be much leſs than they really were. Now theſe Indian Spaniards having ſome glimpſe of us, aſked who was there? and our guides having anſwered, that what they ſaw was nought but a few boats belonging to them, with which they were going to fetch ſalt into the South-Sea; by this wile we were ſpared the labour of engaging with thoſe raſcals.

On the twelfth in the morning we caſt anchor, becauſe the tide came in, and was againſt us, and about ten made ready, but towards noon the heavens were overcaſt to that degree, that you could ſcarce ſee a man from one end to the other; and this was followed with ſuch exceſſive rains, that we were afraid every minute of being ſunk, though we employed two men in each canoe continually to throw out the water; and during that time one of our men died.

The ſame day at midnight we got to the mouth of the river, and entered into the South-Sea, from whence we made directly for the bay of Boca del Chica to ſee for the proviſion which we were told was there, and which we found accordingly; but before this we met with a canoe of captain Grogniet that

that waited for us, and two barks at anchor. They had been purpoſely ſent by the Engliſh, both to towe our canoes to the place where the fleet of free-booters were, and to bring us more proviſion.

On the thirteenth in the morning we carried our ſick on board the two barks for their better accommodation, and then weighed anchor in order to ſail altogether to an iſland four leagues diſtant from the mouth of that river, where we refreſhed ourſelves two days with the proviſion the Engliſh had ſent us, which was a mighty comfort to us.

On the ſixteenth we went off in order to find out the Engliſh and French fleet, whoſe rendezvous was to cruize either before Panama, or at the King's Iſlands, which are not far from this river.

We arrived at thoſe iſlands on the eighteenth, which ſtand thirty leagues to the eaſt of Panama, where we found the largeſt of them to look more like the continent than an iſland, ſo ſpacious and mountainous it is. The ſame is inhabited by thoſe negroes whom they call Marons, or fugitives from the Spaniards, who upon making their eſcapes from their maſters at Panama, and the adjacent places, have made this a place of refuge. This day one of our men died.

We entered into this ſea at a very bad time, for about this height, there are ſome years wherein it rains for every day for the ſpace of ſix months, and we happened to come thither exactly at ſuch a ſeaſon.

I ſhould think it would have been proper in this place, before I proceed to give a relation of our adventures, to give a large and exact deſcription of the South-Sea, and this fourth part of the world, with which it is waſhed, and to ſet forth the longitude and latitude of the places: but as it is my deſign to write of nothing but what was tranſacted by us there,

there, and that this country is well enough diſcovered by the geographical charts that have been made of it, let the reader, when he has occaſion to be informed herein, have recourſe to them. I ſhall content myſelf with taking notice only, that all the continent that reſpects the South-Sea, ſtands eaſt and weſt, and moſt of the iſlands north and ſouth of it; and that it runs from eaſt and ſouth-eaſt to ſouth and ſouth-weſt; and from the weſt to weſt north-weſt, and to the north-weſt.

The Spaniards are the only foreigners that poſſeſs theſe countries, ſince the unjuſt uſurpation they have made of them from the aborigines, over whom they made themſelves maſters by ſuch tyrannical and cruel methods as have been heard of throughout the world. They have good towns upon the ſea ſide, which reach from the height of the iſlands of Don Fernandez, that are ſituated at the mouth of the gulf of Magellan, or rather from Chili, to the middle of a ſtreight, that is between the Terra Firma, and the iſles of California, which the Spaniards call Marbermejo, through which it is believed a communication may be had between the northern and ſouthern ſeas, without going about by ſtreight of Anien. The chief of theſe towns begin from the ſouth, and are Arrica, Sagaa, Naſca, Pachacama, Lima, Cidade de los Reyes, the port of Callao (which is the place of embarking for this laſt, and where the king of Spain's ſhips anchor, that is the fleet of Peru) Truxillo, Paita, Quequilla, la Barbacoa, which is an open mine, from whence the Spaniards get a great deal of gold, Panama, Realeguo, Tecoantepequa, Acapulco, and ſeveral others, that are as well maritime as inland places.

It is about ten years ſince the Spaniards, who dwell on all this continent, have not known what war

war was. Here they lived in a profound tranquillity, and fire-arms were hardly in any uſe amongſt them: but ſince the time that we found out a way to go and viſit them, they brought the Engliſhmen from Jamaica amongſt them. But though they have a pretty many of them at preſent there, yet the ſequel of this diſcourſe will ſhew they are not much more warlike than they were before: but the white Indians that inhabit a part of Chili have been always their enemies; and theſe are a people of prodigious bulk and tallneſs, who almoſt infeſt them with continual war, and when they happen to take any of them they take off the plate of their breaſts, as we do by a tortoiſe, and cut out their hearts.

On the twenty-ſecond, which was Eaſter-day, their fleet, who were gone before us into theſe ſeas, arrived at the King's Iſles where we were; they conſiſted of eight ſail, which, together with the two barks they had ſent to wait for our arrival, made up in all ten veſſels; of which take the following account:

The firſt ſerved as admiral, and was a frigate carrying thirty-ſix guns, commanded by one captain David.

The next was inſtead of vice-admiral, had ſixteen guns, and was under the command of one whoſe name was Sammes.

The third and fourth were two ſhips commanded by captain Townſley.

The fifth was a ſhip that could have carried thirty guns, but had none, and was commanded by captain Grognet.

The ſixth was a ſmall ſhip commanded by Brandy.

The ſeventh and eighth were two long barks commanded by two quarter-maſters, with a detachment of men drawn out of the fleet.

And

And the ninth and tenth were the two barks that came to meet us, whereof the one was commanded by Peter Henry, and the other by a quarter-maſter.

Of all theſe commanders captain Grognet was the only Frenchman, all the reſt being Engliſhmen, except David, who was a Fleming. As to the whole number of our men, they were computed at about eleven hundred, when they divided into two fleets: it remains therefore now that I ſhould ſay, according to the information I have received from all that were engaged in this enterprize, how all theſe ſhips fell into their hands, by what means, and at what time they came into this ſea.

In purſuance therefore to the order before obſerved, I am to declare that the Engliſh were the owners of our admiral, who in the year 1682, on the coaſt of St. Domingo, ſurprized a long bark belonging to a French captain, whoſe name was Triſtan, who was then with ſome of his ſhip's crew aſhore waiting for a fair wind to ſail together, to make war upon the Spaniards, by commiſſion from monſieur Povanſay, who was then governor of that iſland. The Engliſh, who were ſuperior in ſtrength, drove the French out of the bark, with which they ſailed to the iſle de la Tortille, whither a great many ſhips go every year to take in ſalt. The next thing they did, was to take a Dutch ſhip, on which they went all on board, and ſailed afterwards to the coaſt of Guinea, where they took ſeveral prizes more; but they reſerved none of them ſave the Dutch ſhip which ſerved as admiral, and wherein they ſailed when we left the South-Sea, and was ſuppoſed to have been a ſhip belonging to Hamburg.

Theſe Engliſh became pirates under the conduct of a captain of their own, and grew ſo notoriouſly wicked by a great many odious actions, performed not only towards ſtrangers, but even thoſe of their

own

own nation, when they met with any of them, that to avoid being chaſed, which they would infallibly have been, they paſſed from the north to the ſouth-ſea, by the ſtreight of Magellan.

They kept company for about eight months with a little frigate of eighteen guns, which they met with there in a ſhort time after their arrival, and whoſe crew conſiſted of Engliſh, French, and Flemings: but their good correſpondence with the corſair was of no long duration, for happening to have ſome difference with him, as he was one morning giving the other the good-morrow, according to the Engliſh mode, he ſaw all his crew come upon deck; whereupon the little frigate, who ſailed much better than the pirate, came up with him, and having brought all his guns to bear, gave him a broad ſide, accompanied with a volley of ſmall ſhot, and then bore away, having ſlain the captain and twenty of his men, in whoſe ſtead the reſt of the crew choſe David before-mentioned. That little frigate of ſixteen guns got into the South-Sea ſome time after the other, as alſo by the ſame ſtreight of Magellan. I was told by one of the engineers on board her, that ſhe belonged to his royal highneſs the duke of York, and that under pretence of coming to treat with the Spaniards, ſhe was ſent upon no other account than to take a plan of thoſe parts, the ſituation of the cities and ſea-ports. Now captain David meeting with her, made captain Sammes come on board him, and threatened to take him, unleſs he would go and make war with him; ſo that finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt, he choſe rather to comply with the pirate than be taken; and theſe two together took a great many prizes, which, after they had taken out what was for their turn, they burnt.

About a year after, captain Townſley came over land with an hundred and fifteen Engliſh into thoſe ſeas,

ſeas, and at the King's Iſlands took two ſhips laden with proviſion and other refreſhments, whereof I have already ſpoken, coming from Peru.

About a month after, the captains Grognet and Leſcuier went alſo thither over land with two hundred and ſeventy men; and who, being informed that the Engliſh fleet was before Panama, put aſhore one night at Tavoga, an iſland two leagues off, from whence they diſcerned a ſhip on fire, and by break of day they ſaw the Engliſh under ſail.

They went on board them, and came to underſtand, that captain David had taken a ſhip called the Saint Roſe, laden with corn and wine, bound from Truxillo for Panama; the preſident of which laſt place had ſent to him to buy her, and in order thereunto, gave him a meeting at the iſles of Pericos, that are a league diſtance from the port. But inſtead of ſending him the money they had agreed upon for the ſhip, he ſent a fire-ſhip to burn him; but the ſame, through the cowardice and ignorance of the commander, ſpent herſelf without doing the other any hurt: and this made captain David give the St. Roſe to Grognet and Leſcuier's ſhips crew, who had already loſt their captain.

As for the other five ſhips commanded by Brandy, Sammes, Peter Henry, and two quarter-maſters, they had alſo been taken from the Spaniards in theſe ſeas by the two firſt frigates, who reſerved them for thoſe who came thither over land. But of all their ſhips, there were none but the firſt two that had guns; the other eight had none, they having been merchant ſhips, that had made uſe of none in the South-Sea, where no body but themſelves had ſailed a long time. And now having told you what paſſed before this fleet came together; we ſhall now proceed to give an account of our adventures ſince our junction.

On-

On the twenty-fifth of April we took an advice-boat going to the fleet of Peru, which was then at anchor in the port of Callao, that was carrying ſome packets from Madrid to Panama, and letters from the vice-roy of Lima, wherein there was an account given how many men of war, fire-ſhips, and merchant-men, the fleet conſiſted of; and about what time the ſame might arrive at Panama. Next day we examined the commander of the advice-boat, but we could get no particulars out of him, ſaving, that when he ſaw himſelf like to be taken, he had thrown the king of Spain's packets and a caſket of jewels overboard.

On the twenty-ſeventh we put the ſame queſtions to the pilot, who, according to the example of his commander, would make no diſcovery, becauſe they had taken an oath together, rather to loſe their lives than to divulge any ſecret, or to let the ſaid packet fall into the hands of the free-booters. On the 28th two of our men died.

On the evening of the ſame day, we departed with two-and-twenty canoes manned with five hundred men, in order to go and take la Seppa, which is a ſmall town ſeven leagues to windward of Panama; and on the twenty-ninth about ten in the morning we diſcovered two ſhips bearing up to us, which when they came near, we found to be two periaugues manned with Greeks, which are a people compoſed of divers nations, to whom the Spaniards give this name, and who ſerve them in their wars. Theſe they brought ſome time before from the North-ſea to this coaſt, to defend them againſt us, becauſe they look upon them to be better ſoldiers than themſelves. We preſently ſent out two of our beſt ſailing canoes, manned with twenty men each, to attack them.

Theſe Greeks, who quickly took us to be really what we were, *i. e.* free-booters, made no delay to ſave themſelves upon one of thoſe iſlands that ſtands on the bay of Panama; but upon their going aſhore, they loſt one of their periaugues, that ſplit in pieces, and left us the other; then they got upon a riſing ground, with their arms, and as much ammunition as they could ſave, and fought ſtiffly againſt us under a flag of defiance. And as the place where we landed was expoſed to their fire from the ground where they had poſted themſelves, and that the aſcent on that ſide where we ſtood was very difficult, we were forced to take a great round to come at them another way, where we found our paſſage much eaſier. At laſt, after we had fought at leaſt for the ſpace of an hour, we conſtrained them to flee for ſhelter in the woods, took two of them priſoners, beſides their colours, and found between five-and-thirty ſlain upon the ſpot.

We were informed by the two priſoners, that thoſe who had eſcaped, could not be above an hundred men at moſt; that we might eaſily maſter them if we pleaſed, there being many wounded amongſt them: they alſo told us, that they had an account at Panama of a reinforcement that was come from the North-ſea to the fleet of free-booters: that the preſident of the town had thereupon ſent an advice-boat to Lima, to engage the vice-roy to detain the merchant ſhips in port till further order, and with all ſpeed to ſend a fleet of men of war to fight ours, and drive us out of thoſe ſeas: but the relation given by theſe two priſoners we could not rely upon, ſince their party had put up a flag of defiance, they being three times the number of us.

After this advantage, and our rejoicing with the reſt of our canoes, we continued to proſecute our deſign upon la Seppa; but as we were obliged before

fore we could come at it to go about two leagues up a very fine and large river of the ſame name, and on whoſe banks they have Vigies centinels always ſet, we could not chooſe but be diſcovered, and find the town alarmed, and ready to defend itſelf: yet for all that we fell furiouſly on, and took it with the loſs only of one man; but finding no great matter of booty there, becauſe they had ſaved moſt of their effects, we returned to our canoes again.

As I ſhall have frequent occaſion to make mention of the word *vigie*, it will not be improper in this place to take notice, that by *vigier* is no other thing meant than to ſet a centinel upon land or ſea, and thoſe perſons who are thus ſet, they call *vigies*. The Spaniards maintain a great number of them; for all their cities, towns, and villages, and even ſingle houſes, have perſons on purpoſe, whom they ſend to all the riſing ground round about, and river ſides, where they have their horſes ready night and day, ſo that, as ſoon as they diſcover an enemy, they haſten to give the Spaniards notice of it, who forthwith prepare themſelves not to fight, but to ſave their effects.

On the firſt of May we rejoined our ſhips, who waited for us at a very pretty iſland, called Sipilia, about a league diſtant from the mouth of the river la Seppa, which makes up a kind of canal, that forms the bay of Panama, and do, as it were, make a bar all along, that divides the channel into two parts, one to the eaſt and the other to the weſt. Thoſe pleaſures we met with in theſe parts juſtly deſerve a remembrance, whereof I ſhall give a little deſcription in this place.

All theſe iſlands are ſo curious and delightful, that they are uſually called the gardens of Panama, and with very good reaſon, ſeeing all people of note in that city have each of them one of theſe iſlands

for themſelves, and their houſes of pleaſure there alſo, with curious orchards, watered with a great many ſprings of running waters, adorned and embelliſhed with a wonderful variety of flowers and arbours of jeſſamine up and down, and full almoſt of an infinite number of all ſorts of the fruits of the country, among whom I have taken particular notice of four of them, which are called Sappota, Sappotilla, Avocata, and las Cayemites.

The firſt is a fruit almoſt like unto our pears, of a different ſize, whoſe rind is greeniſh, and contains, in the midſt thereof, two kernels of an oval form, appearing pretty poliſhed and ſleek, and are each of them, in the largeſt of theſe fruits, ſomewhat bigger than an ordinary nut: when this fruit is ripe it is very ſoft, and when the paring is taken off, the pulp is of a pure red colour, very ſweet, and of an admirable taſte.

The ſecond is of the ſame form as the other, but no bigger than a ruſſet pear: it has an admirable taſte, and under the rind is of a whitiſh colour.

The third is of the ſame form as our quinces, ſaving that the rind is greener: this fruit muſt be fully ripe, and very ſoft before it becomes good food, and then it is that you find the pulp of it as white as ſnow. The Spaniards eat it with ſpoons as we do cream, and indeed the taſte thereof is moſtly the ſame.

The fourth is like a large damaſen, and very luſcious.

Beſides theſe and a great many more, wherewith this country is peculiarly bleſſed, it produces alſo a great many of thoſe fruits that are common to Europe, as apricots, pomegranates, goyaves, juniper, cocoa, bananas, figs of Provence, French and Spaniſh melons, all ſorts of oranges, citrons, and lemons, of which I ſhall give no deſcription, no more than of

the trees that bear them; but thoſe who would ſatisfy their curioſity herein, may do it in reading the Hiſtory of the Antilles written by monſieur de Rochefort, in the year 1668, who was ſkilled therein, and gave a very good account of them. All theſe rich preſents of fruits and pure water, of which nature made us an offer in theſe iſlands, were a wonderful relief to us, after thoſe fatigues we had undergone in our paſſage over the continent: to ſay nothing of the plentiful harveſt we had of maize and rice, wherewith we found theſe iſlands covered, and which the Spaniards, I believe, did not ſow with an intention we ſhould enjoy them. But theſe ſame iſlands that afforded us ſo many delights, wrought alſo afterwards ſome ſorrow in us, of which by and by.

On the eighth of May in the morning we ſailed away, and paſſed by the old and new city of Panama; the old one was that taken by general Morgan in the year 1670, whoſe churches and houſes ſeemed to us to be finely built, as far as we could judge of them at ſuch a diſtance; there is none but the new town that is fortified, being defended with a good wall and ſeveral other works, but that is only to the ſea-ward. This city is attended with an inconveniency, that as it is ſituated at the bottom of a bay, and that the ſea ebbs very much in this country, great ſhips are left dry there, if they anchor nearer than a league to the place: we got as nigh it as we could with our colours and ſtreamers looſe, and from thence went to anchor at Tavoga, which appeared to us as if it were a little enchanted iſland, ſo agreeable and delightful are thoſe houſes and gardens that are upon it.

On the ninth we caulked all our ſhips, and next day ſent out our long bark to cruiſe, in order to give us notice when the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight

of us; and on the thirteenth we made choice of thoſe ſhips that ſhould engage it. Captain David and captain Grognet were to board the Spaniſh admiral, captain Suam and captain Townſley the vice-admiral, captain Peter Henry and one of Townſley's prizes, the patach; our fire-ſhip was to keep herſelf under the quarter of our admiral. Our other ſhips were to attack the reſt of their fleet according to their ſtrength, and our armed periaugues were to keep off the enemies fire-ſhips.

We heard this day a great many cannon fired at Panama, the cauſe whereof we could not gueſs at; and on the fourteenth we put aſhore upon this iſland of Tavoga forty priſoners, who were very cumberſome to us, and then weighed to go wait for the fleet at cape Pin: but this was much out of ſeaſon ſince the fleet, who was willing to ſpare us this trouble, as well as that of attacking her, was already, without our knowing of it, arrived at Panama; having got in under the covert of one of thoſe pleaſant iſlands, through one of the two channels which I ſaid was formed by them, and which hid them from us while we cruiſed in the other channel, through which we thought they would have ſailed.

As we knew nothing hitherto of this matter, and that, upon the return of our long bark, ſhe told us, ſhe had diſcovered no ſhips paſs, we went and anchored at King's-Iſlands, where the whole fleet took the uſual oath, that we would not wrong one another to the value of a piece of eight, in caſe God were pleaſed to give us the victory over the Spaniards. On the ſeventeenth one of our men died.

On the nineteenth we weighed and anchored between the great iſland, and thoſe in the eaſt channel, through which we thought the fleet we expected would

would paſs. On the twenty-eighth another of our men died. Next day we made ready, and ſailed for cape Pin. On the thirty-firſt we gave chace to two ſhips whom we loſt in the night, and which brought us back in the purſuit of them, to the little iſlands of Panama, where we anchored on the firſt of June; and the ſame day we ſurprized two Greeks upon the iſland, where we had beaten them, when we went to take la Seppa.

On the fourth we ſent two canoes to the iſle of Sipilla, to endeavour to take ſome priſoners, that we might learn ſome news from them. There they took a ſhip laden with boards, which the Spaniards were carrying to Panama to build two periaugues inſtead of thoſe we had taken. The men told us, that their fleet was got into Panama on the twelfth of May: that on the thirteenth they fired off a great many guns for joy, and that as ſoon as they were refreſhed, careened, and manned, they would put out to fight us, and would be ready in a ſhort time.

On the ſeventh at noon, captain Grognet, who had anchored farther from the iſland than we, gave us a ſignal, that he deſcried the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeven ſail, and this he did by lowering and raiſing his flag ſeven times: we alſo on our part made ready, and, in doubling the point of the iſland where we had anchored, we diſcovered ſeven great ſhips coming up towards us, with a bloody flag in the ſtern, and a royal one on their maſts. Now it was that the hopes which our crew had loſt, when they underſtood that the fleet was got into Panama, revived again, and the deſire they had to enrich themſelves, at the others coſt, animated them to that degree, that moſt of them threw their hats into the ſea, as thinking they had the Spaniards already in hold. We put our ſhips in order, and

then diſputed the wind with them, which was at that time got to the weſt. About three in the afternoon we all, except captain Grognet, got the weather-gage of them, and he failed, becauſe he waited for the coming up of his canoe from the ſhore, and caſt about twice. Our admiral finding himſelf to windward of the Spaniſh vice-admiral, who was ſeparated from his own admiral, gave us the ſignal to follow him for to board him; in order to which, we lengthened our ſprit-ſail, but our vice-admiral took in his flag, as a token he would defer the engagement to next morning, hoping that Grognet would get the weather-gage in the night: towards ſun-ſetting the Spaniſh vice-admiral, who was to leeward of us, ſaluted us with ſeven guns without ball, which was anſwered by our admiral with a whole broadſide with ball. But, night coming on, the Spaniards caſt anchor, being better acquainted than we with the currents that run between theſe iſlands, and they ſent a ſmall veſſel that carried the lanthorn, to anchor two leagues to leeward of us, in order to amuſe and cauſe us to take falſe meaſures; and indeed we lay by all night, that we might next morning be to windward of the lanthorn, which we took to be the whole fleet.

On the eighth early in the morning we diſcovered our error, and were all of us ſtrangely amazed to find ourſelves to leeward of the enemies fleet, except captain Grognet's ſhip, and that of captain Townſley, and his prize, which were to windward: but it unhappily ſo fell out, that they were ſhips without cannon: the Spaniſh fleet having caſt anchor again an hour after ſun-riſing, we did all we could to get the weather-gage, but their vice-admiral, who had his anchor a-peak, and his ſails but very ſlightly furled, quickly plied to the wind, which proving favourable to him, he bore immediately

upon our admiral. Our vice-admiral did all he could to come to his aſſiſtance, for the Spaniſh guns had already incommoded him very much; but his coming up obliged the enemies ſhips to bear off to windward, which we endeavoured to gain all that day, though to no purpoſe; while the Spaniards in the mean while, under whoſe cannon we found ourſelves, mauled us terribly, and this made our admiral and vice-admiral to keep cloſe together, and to reſolve to die valiantly fighting, rather than ſuffer any one ſhip of the fleet to be taken, though they could both of them have ſaved themſelves if they pleaſed, they being much better ſailors than the Spaniards.

Captain Townſley, towards the afternoon being to windward of the enemies fleet, ſent his periaugue on board our admiral, to receive his orders, while he that commanded it had both his legs ſhot off by a cannon ball. About two the Spaniards ſent out a ſhip of eight-and-twenty guns to hinder captain Grognet to join us, as underſtanding by ſome Spaniards, who had been our priſoners, that he was the ſtrongeſt in ſmall arms of any in our fleet, and that they were ſo much the more fearful of him, when they came to know his crew conſiſted of Frenchmen. At laſt finding ourſelves towards evening much battered with their cannon (for the Spaniards would not come to boarding) we veered by the favour of a gale of wind, to go and board the Spaniſh vice-admiral, that was the beſt ſailor, and did us moſt harm: but we were no ſooner unmoored, than that the wind came about, which did us much damage, for we were juſt come upon the enemies ſhip, who not obſerving the wind, by which we ſailed, bore ſtill upon us ſo far, that when we returned the ſecond time, ſhe was ſo near us, that ſhe was conſtrained to furl the end of her main-ſail,

for fear of bringing her fore-maſt upon our counter, and this made us put out our canoes, which were upon the towe, that we might go better, and in this manner we defended ourſelves till night approached.

Peter Henry's ſhip, wherein I was, having received above an hundred and twenty cannon ſhot, was forced to make the beſt of her way, which our admiral and vice-admiral perceiving, they put their periaugues under ſail, which they had all along braced to windward during the fight, in order to attend us, becauſe they ſaw we were in an ill condition. The enemy, obſerving our working, ſent one of their ſmall ſhips in purſuit of us, but as we bore back upon her, ſhe gave us eighteen guns, and rejoined their own fleet.

Our long bark having, during the action, been ſorely handled, her crew was forced to leave her, and, not having time to ſink her, threw ſome guns, which our admiral had put on board her, into the ſea, and then ſaved themſelves on board of one of our other ſhips. Now the Spaniſh priſoners whom we left behind, finding they were now at liberty, plied to put themſelves into the hands of the Spaniſh admiral, but he, taking this bark for our fire ſhip, ſunk her with his cannon before ſhe came near him, not thinking their own people were on board her.

On the ninth we could ſee neither our own nor the Spaniſh fleet, which made us ſteer for the iſle St. John de Cueblo, four-and-twenty leagues to the weſt of Panama, where, by the favour of an eaſterly breeze, we arrived on the fourteenth; we ran ourſelves preſently aſhore, and it was high time, for we had all along, from the time of the fight, five feet of water in the hold: we loſt no time to put ourſelves in a condition to get up again before Panama, that we might know what became of our fleet, about which we were in great pain, which we were

put out of on the ſix-and-twentieth, when we ſaw them coming to an anchor in the ſame place where we were, who told us they did not fight any more after our departure from them. That the Spaniſh fleet, upon the ninth in the evening, had anchored within cannon ſhot of ours, and that, both the one and the other having made ready on the tenth, the Spaniards ſailed away for the port of Panama; that captain David had been hard plied by the Spaniſh cannon, eſpecially with two ſhots that carried off half his rudder, but that he had no more than ſix of his ſhip's crew wounded, and only one killed; that captain Sammes was no leſs put to it, that almoſt all his poop was ſwept off, that he had received ſeveral ſhots between wind and water, that his mate had his head ſhot off with a cannon ball, and that he had no more than three men wounded: and that, in ſhort, the other leſſer veſſels had loſt never a man, and had but very few wounded. Here I may truly ſay, and without exaſperating the matter, that it was a ſtrange thing and next to a miracle, that we, who were ſo few in number, and had ſuch pitiful ſhips of our own, ſhould be able to bear the fire of, withſtand and fight ſo conſiderable a fleet, in compariſon of our own, conſiſting of ſuch good ſhips, and manned ſo well as that of the Spaniards was, whoſe admiral was a veſſel of ſeventy guns, though ſhe had but fifty-ſix mounted, becauſe ſhe was too old. Their vice-admiral had forty, though ſhe was bored to carry ſixty guns; ſhe was a very fine ſhip, and an excellent ſailor, but alſo old. The patach was a veſſel of forty guns, though ſhe had no more than eight-and-twenty mounted. The Conſerve had eighteen guns, but was built as well as the patach, to carry forty. The other three were almoſt as big; beſides they had the advantage of fire-ſhips, on board of which they had planted

cannon, to the end that we might not take them to be really what they were, and that ſo they might come near, and the more eaſily ſurprize us, than if we were aware of them.

If we had met with this fleet, as we were in hopes we ſhould, before they got an addition of ſtrength in Panama; or that we had had but only the wind of them when we attacked them, I do not queſtion, but things would have appeared with another face than now they did, and that we ſhould have poſſeſſed ourſelves of their ſhips to bring us back through the ſtreights with wealth enough to live at eaſe, which would have freed us all at once, after a continued ſucceſſion of fatigues and troubles, which we were forced to go through for three years longer, as well in thoſe places, as in our return over land to the North-ſea; but divine Providence had otherwiſe ordered it.

On the twenty-ninth we parted from the Iſle of St. John, to the number of three hundred men in five canoes, in order to go and ſurprize the town of Pueblo Nuevo, that was ſix leagues off, thinking we ſhould get ſome proviſion there, whereof now we began to be in need. Being landed on the thirty-firſt, we took a centinel, but another eſcaped, which was the occaſion of our being diſcovered. We were obliged, in order to get at this town, to go up a very fine river two leagues, and to make uſe of the flowing of the tide for that purpoſe; before we came at it we found a retrenchment made for its ſecurity, but ill guarded. The town is none of the beſt ſituated, though it ſtands upon the river-ſide, being ſurrounded every way with marſhes: we found neither people nor victuals there, and ſo we left it on the third of July; and next day as we returned with our canoes to rejoin our fleet we

gave

gave chace to a bark, which we took, and on the fifth we got to our ſhips.

The Engliſh and we had a difference in the deſcent we made upon this town, for they being more numerous than we, would take the advantage of us, and be maſters of the whole, and that ſo far, that captain Townſley would have taken captain Grognet's ſhip away, which captain David had given him, and give him his own for her: but as he found he had to do with men, who, though inferior in number, would not tamely be thus put upon, he was forced to give over his pretenſions; yet we finding ſtill that they continued to pretend to the ſame dominion over us, we ſeparated ourſelves from them to the number of an hundred and thirty Frenchmen, without rekoning captain Grognet's crew, who were two hundred more, and, after having banded ourſelves apart, we landed upon the iſland.

One of the chief reaſons that made us diſagree was their impiety againſt our religion; for they made no ſcruple when they got into a church to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their ſabres, or to ſhoot them down with their fuzees and piſtols, bruiſing and maiming the images of the ſaints with the ſame weapons in deriſion to the adoration we Frenchmen paid unto them. And it was chiefly from theſe horrid diſorders, that the Spaniards equally hated us all, as we came to underſtand by divers of their letters that fell into our hands, which I have got rendered into French, as may be ſeen by and by.

On the ninth the Engliſh weighed, and came to anchor about five or ſix leagues to leeward of the place where we were building our canoes, to fit up others for themſelves in lieu of thoſe they had loſt as well as we, during the fight with the Spaniſh fleet.

fleet. We laid out for trees fit for our purpoſe, and to that end went into a wood, which in theſe parts grows near to the ſea, of which we choſe the largeſt, which commonly are thoſe trees called Mapou and Acajou, and are withal very tender and eaſy to be wrought; among them we found ſome ſo large, that the ſingle trunk, after being hewn and made hollow, could carry fourſcore men.

While we were building our canoes, a centinel, whom we had ſet on a very high tree growing on the ſea-ſide in our iſland, as well for diſcovering, leſt the Engliſh, who knew we were employed about our canoes, ſhould come to take away our ſhip, as to obſerve if any Spaniſh ſhip ſhould ſail between the main land and the iſland whereon we were, came to tell us on the fifteenth, that he ſaw a ſhip out at ſea, ſteering ſouth-weſt and by weſt, which put us preſently upon making ready to come up with her: we found her to be a ſmall veſſel commanded by captain Willnet an Engliſhman, whoſe crew conſiſted of forty Engliſh and eleven Frenchmen, of whom we had never heard any thing till now: but they told us, they had a long time ago paſſed over land into theſe ſeas, and that lately they had taken a ſhip laden with corn out of the port of Sanſonnat, which is on the continent, and the place of embarking from Guatimala, thirty leagues to the eaſt of the Iſle of St. John, and that, going from thence towards the ſouth coaſt, they underſtood that the vice roy of Lima had ſent a Spaniſh fleet on purpoſe to chace and beat the free-booters, which gave them to underſtand there were others beſides them in theſe ſeas; and that upon the good news they were come in queſt of us, in order to have a ſhare in taking that fleet, which they believed infallible, but that they underſtood, when they came before Panama, where they were in hopes

to

to meet with us, that the fight was already over, and that we were gone to the Iſle of St. John: the other Engliſh, who, as I have already ſaid, were gone to anchor about five or ſix leagues to windward of us, had alſo ſent out a canoe to know what this bark was, which came up with her as ſoon as we, and this made us very uneaſy; for, this bark being laden with proviſion, thoſe Engliſh influenced theſe new comers ſo far, that they took them to anchor in the ſame place where they were, except the eleven Frenchmen, who left them and ſtaid with us.

This iſland of St. John Cueblo is about twelve leagues in circumference, ſtanding eaſt and weſt, and north and ſouth, five leagues diſtant from the main land, and ſeparated by a narrow channel (which is indeed no other than an arm of the ſea running in between two lands). It is not inhabited, very mountainous, full of wood, and watered with very fine rivers. It ſtands in no ſtead to the Spaniards, beſides ſupplying them with maſts for their ſhipping, which they have here in great abundance. When we ſtopped upon that iſland, we were in hopes to have fared well, ſo well ſtocked it was with deer, monkies, agoutills, lizards, and banks full of tortoiſes; but we were deprived of theſe advantages by two inconveniences we laboured under; the firſt whereof was, that the Engliſh in leſs than fifteen days had made ſuch a deſtruction of theſe tortoiſes, that but very few of them landed; the other reſpected our hunting, which, after we had followed for a few days at firſt, we were bound to decline; for, having ſtaid in this place longer than we deſigned, we were under a neceſſity of preſerving our powder for fear, ſhould we have ſpent it, the Spaniards would have been quickly upon us; ſo that we ſtaid a whole month upon this iſland to the number of three hundred and thirty men of us, with

with eating no more than two tortoiſes in eight-and-forty hours, and in ſeeking ſome fruits in the woods wherewith to ſubſiſt, and with the eating of which ſome of us died, as not knowing the nature of them.

There are a ſort of ſerpents upon this iſland whoſe ſtinging is ſo dangerous, that if any one has not a certain fruit by him, which he is to chew, and preſently to apply to the wound, there is no eſcaping preſent death for him, as we found by experience by ſome of our men whom we loſt in this manner, and who, in their dying, endured terrible pains through the activity and violence of that fire which this poiſon kindled in their bodies. The tree, on which this fruit grows, is to be found upon the ſame place, as well as in the other parts of this country, being, as to its leaves and height, very like unto our almond trees; but its fruit reſembles ſea cheſnuts, though it is of a greyiſh colour, and of a ſomewhat bitter taſte, encloſing a whitiſh almond in the midſt thereof. It is chewed altogether before the application is made, and is known by no other name than the Serpents-ſeed.

Here alſo, about two or three leagues up the country, you have a great many cayemans, which are a kind of crocodiles, that live both in the ſea, rivers, and on dry land, and are of that ravenous nature, that ſome of our men have been devoured by them.

On the ſeven-and-twentieth the Engliſh, who had left us, ſent a quarter-maſter to us to know whether we would join ourſelves with them, as ſuppoſing they were too weak to go and take the town of Leon, on which they had formed a deſign. And here we muſt acknowledge, that extreme miſery is ſo terrible a thing, that it is almoſt impoſſible, when an opportunity preſents itſelf of being deli-

vered,

vered, that it ſhould be let ſlip, notwithſtanding all the repugnancy of our reaſon to the contrary. We had left the Engliſh by reaſon of their impieties, which we could not endure, and now we were ready to comply with the propoſals they had made us of rejoining them again. The proviſion was on their ſide, and this was a charming bait for people that were ready to periſh with hunger. We preſently aſked them for ſome victuals; and as we had but one ſhip, that could not hold us all, that they ſhould give us another, becauſe we were not willing to be diſperſed on board their ſhips as before; but this they would not agree to. In the mean while as we were reſolved not to recede herefrom, famine forced thirty of our men to join themſelves with the Engliſh, as being unable to bear with the faſts we were forced to keep. And on the fourth of Auguſt four of our men died.

• On the ninth, when we knew the Engliſh were gone, we embarked, to the number of an hundred and twenty men, on board five canoes commanded by captain Grognet, and left two hundred on board our ſhip, and upon the iſland, whom we ordered to build more canoes, and afterwards to croſs over to the continent.

• Having made a deſcent there on the thirteenth, we came to an hatto, which is a kind of a farm where the Spaniards breed their cattle; it was in the neighbourhood of a town called St. Jago, which is twenty leagues diſtant from St. John's Iſland.• The people we found in this hatto we made our priſoners, among whom was the maſter, who ſhewed and conducted us to take a ſugar-plantation in the river of St. Jago, where we were diſcovered. We founded our priſoners one after another, in order to know whether they underſtood any thing of our ſeparation from the Engliſh, by telling

telling them we came from the North-ſea, and that they ſhould ſhew us where the free-booters were, which they ſaid were come into theſe ſeas. They anſwered, they were gone to St. John's Iſland to repair the damage the fleet of Peru had done them, together with other circumſtances, which we knew better than they, without telling us one word of what had happened between the Engliſh and us: hence we conjectured they knew nothing of the matter, and we could have been very well content that all the Spaniards knew as little as they, for fear our disjunction might render them more forward to attack us.

After this intelligence we diſpatched away a canoe which we had taken in this river, to carry our men ſome victuals, which we had found in this hatto, and to acquaint them, that we were going towards Panama, to ſee whether we might meet with an opportunity of ſeizing ſome barks, ſo that we might get out of St. John's Iſland; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, our ſhip was not big enough to hold us, and that, as ſoon as the canoes were ready, they were to go and take Puebla Nuevo, in order to get ſome proviſion wherewith to ſubſiſt till our return.

On the fifteenth we went aſhore forty leagues to leeward of Panama, and, though we had no guide, we got by cock-crowing to a very pretty Eſtantia as they called it, which was a lone houſe, and where we took fifty priſoners of both ſexes. Among theſe, there was a young man and woman of quality, who promiſed we ſhould have a ranſom for them, whom we carried to the iſland Iguana, a league's diſtance from the great one, and where there is no other but rain water to be had, which ſtands in the cavities of the rocks.

We ſtaid for the fore-mentioned ranſom till the eight-and-twentieth, when it was duly paid us, and then went off, being firſt informed, that, about eight leagues to windward, there was a river, wherein were two barks laden with maize, which on the nine-and-twentieth in the morning we boarded and took. From thence we reſumed our courſe to go and rejoin our men in St. John's Iſland, where we arrived on the third of September. Here they told us, that an hundred of them, whereof ninety-eight were come back, had gone on the five-and-twentieth of the preceding month to Pueblo Nuevo, as we had ordered them, where they arrived on the ſeven-and-twentieth; and, though they were diſcovered by the centinels of the town, they made themſelves maſters of it, and ſtaid there two days, for all the continual and various attacks made upon them by the Spaniards. That the commander of the place came with a trumpet to ſpeak with them, and aſked, why they carried white colours, ſeeing they were Engliſh (ſo he took them to be) but, without ſatisfying his curioſity in the point, they conſtrained him to be gone from whence he came. That, eight of them being gone ſome diſtance from the place of arms, there were two of the number maſſacred by an hundred and fifty Spaniards, who ſeeing ſo ſmall a company together, bravely fell upon them; but, with all the advantage they had they could not hinder the other ſix to recover their main-guard, who fought retreating with extraordinary vigour.

On the fourth we put out with ſix canoes, and an hundred and forty men on board, whereof we detached two to go to the hatto we had taken on the eleventh of Auguſt, to look after the ranſom of the maſter, whom we kept priſoner, and with the other four returned to that ſugar-plantation in St. Jago, in order to get ſome ſugar-cauldrons, whereof we

we had occaſion. There we were informed, that the governor of St. Jago came thither after our departure the firſt time we took it, with eight hundred men. We ſtaid in this place till the ninth, expecting the anſwer of a priſoner whom we ſent to the governor, and by whom we ſent him word, that if he were minded to advance with his eight hundred men, we were ready; but hearing no news of him, we departed thence, after our two canoes had rejoined us; and on the eleventh arrived on board our ſhips and the two barks at the Iſland of St. John.

On the fifth we careened our ſhips and took in water and wood: we would have left this iſland, had it not been for the continual rains that fell and laſted eighteen days, and ſuch bad weather, that it was impoſſible for us to appear upon deck, having never ſeen the ſun all this time: and for this reaſon it is, that the Spaniards call the diſtance between the bay of Gurgona, and this Iſland of St. John, The Droppings of the South-Sea. You have but four months of good weather here throughout the year, and they are December, January, February, March; the other eight months are incommoded with great rains, which fall almoſt without any intermiſſion, and which, beſides the bloody flux it brings, is ſo pernicious, that if a man has been wet with it two or three times, if he do not preſenty ſhift himſelf, it breeds large worms between his ſkin and his fleſh, in form ſomewhat like unto a quill, and about half a finger long.

The weather clearing up on the fourth of October, we mended our ſails, which were almoſt rotten, and made ready to be gone. And the ſame day we had one of our men ſtung in the leg by a ſerpent, who died of it preſently, as not having taken care to provide himſelf with the remedy we have ſpoken of.

On

On the eighth we made ready and ſailed for Realeguo, which is both a port and town an hundred and fourſcore leagues to the weſt and by north-weſt of the Iſle of St. John, and two hundred and ſixty weſt of Panama. We had a ſmall ſouth-eaſt wind till the eleventh, and on the twelfth and thirteenth we ſteered weſt-north-weſt, and that evening deſcried land. On the fourteenth we had a boiſterous ſouth wind, which made us take in all our ſails, till midnight, and then came a calm till the ſeventeenth, when towards noon we were ſurprized with a ſouth-weſt blaſt, attended with great rains, which ſeparated us from our two barks: it blew ſo very hard, that the ſea appeared preſently very frightful, and put us ſo to it, that we began to be very apprehenſive we ſhould be all caſt away; but the weather (as God would have it) proving fair again, we ſpent the nineteenth to ſet our veſſel in order, as well as to mend our ſails with our ſhirts and drawers, wherewith we were already but very indifferently provided. Towards evening we diſcovered land, and knew it to be the bay of Caldaira, whereof I ſhall give an account by and by. On the twentieth we ſailed in ſight of that of Colebra; from thence we had moderate weather, and a ſouth-eaſt wind; and on the one-and-twentieth we got to the height of the Morns which the Spaniards call Papegaya's.

On the twenty-ſecond we found ourſelves over-againſt Realeguo, a place very remarkable for the high mountains that ſurround it; and eſpecially for a high ſulphurous hill that burns continually, and whoſe ſmoke reaches a great way; but the tides next night put us twenty leagues to windward of it. On the four-and-twentieth, we put out four canoes with an hundred men in them in order to take ſome priſoners, that we might receive ſome information concerning this coaſt, where we never were before.

On

On the twenty-fifth we put to the ſhore and landed, and, after a march of three hours, came to an hatto, where we ſurprized the people, who gave us to underſtand, that the Engliſh had taken the town of Leon, and burnt that of Realeguo: that the inhabitants of Legoria, Granada, Sanſonnat, St. Michell, St. Salvador, and Villa-Nueva, which are neighbouring towns to the two fore-mentioned ones, had ſent a conſiderable re-inforcement of men to thoſe of the town of Leon, who yet durſt not attack the Engliſh, who ſtaid there three whole days: during which time they had ſent ſeveral meſſages to theſe re-inforcements to require them to fight in the Race Savana, which the other ſtill refuſed, ſaying, They were not yet all come together, that is, that they were hitherto no more than ſix to one, and that they ſtaid till they were doubly increaſed.

On the twenty-ſixth one of our quarter-maſters, who was a Catalonian by birth, fled to the Spaniards, which hindered us at this time from going to take the town of Granada, of which I ſhall ſpeak in its due place, for we did not doubt but that he had given them an account of the deſign we had formed upon that place.

On the twenty-ſeventh we went on board of our canoes again, and made for the port of Realeguo, where the rendezvous of our ſhips was to be; we could land no where all along the coaſt, becauſe the ſea breaks with ſo much violence there, when it is a ſoutherly wind, that it is impoſſible to come near it. However ſix of our men ſwam with a deſign to fill ſome caſks with water, which we were in want of, but they could not do it, for the Spaniards followed us by land all along the bank, and ſo it fell out, that one of our men was unfortunately drowned.

On

On the firſt of November we arrived at the Port of Realeguo, where we found our ſhip at anchor. There are two paſſages to this port, whereof that to windward is beſt. It is very narrow, and beſides this, has two mornes or little mountains, that form the two points thereof; upon one of which the Spaniards had a deſign to build a fort. There is a very fine river runs into this haven, that bears the ſame name with the town It is ſafe from any winds, and contains within it five iſlands that are very good to careen ſhips in; there are but three leagues from thence up the river before you come at the town. But before we got there with our canoes, we met three very ſtrong retrenchments, that had been made for its ſecurity upon the river's ſide, about a quarter of a league diſtant one from another, and which the Engliſh had half burnt. About a muſket ſhot from the town, the Spaniards had very fine docks, where they build their ſhips. It is waſhed with this river, and ſtands in a very fine country, watered with ſeveral other rivulets; and both its churches and houſes, though then half burnt, appeared to us to have been beautiful enough. We are alſo farther to take notice, that that river we have ſpoken of, has eight arms, by which you may conveniently convey any thing to the villages, ſugar-plantations, and hatto's, whereof this country is full, and which belongs to the burghers, as well of this town as of the neighbouring ones, of which Leon, that is not above four leagues off, is ſituated in a very curious plain. On the ſecond we went to take two of thoſe hatto's, from whence we carried ſome victuals on board for thoſe who were careening our ſhips.

On the ſixth we departed to the number of an hundred and fifty men, to go and ſeize the centinels

of

of the town of Leon, and having ſurprized them on the eighth, they informed us there were two thouſand men in the place, who, yet not truſting to their numbers, had taken all their moveables, and carried them to a place of ſafety. We returned on board on the ninth, and next day ſet out to go to a great ſugar-plantation, two leagues. diſtant from this city, where we arrived at midnight, but found no ſoul living there, the people being gone for their ſecurity to the town, upon the report that was ſpread abroad, that we had taken ſome centinels. But as we were upon our return from this ſugar-plantation to go on board again, our van-guard met with a detachment of horſe, upon whom they fired, and made them fly; but the captain was made a priſoner, who, upon our queſtioning of him, told us that he had heard of us a long time ſince, but not knowing what language we ſpoke, we had been taken for a company of two hundred and fourſcore mulatos, who were looking out to fight us, knowing we were aſhore, and who would be at that ſugar-plantation that evening; we aſked the captain what they were he had headed, and he anſwered, they were a troop of horſe, who guarded the embarking place belonging to that ſugar-plantation, and that the governor of the town, coming to know we were come to the port of Realeguo, had given them orders to retire in ſuch a manner, as gave us to underſtand that our enemies kept a very good guard, when they had nothing to be afraid of, and that they would draw off as ſoon as ever they ſaw us near, and, in effect, we found them to be exactly the very ſame as repreſented to us: for ſurely if they had had but any thing of reſolution and courage, being as numerous as they were in reſpect to us, they could have eaſily cut us off, as often as we made any deſcent upon them; and thus many times we found our ſafety to proceed from

from their cowardice, as much as from our own courage.

On the thirteenth the ſame company of an hundred and fifty men left our veſſels to go to take a borough town three leagues above the city of Realegue, whoſe name was Pueblo Viego; we paſſed through this place, which we found to be quite deſerted by its inhabitants, becauſe of the excommunication they had thundered out againſt themſelves.

Some perhaps will be ſurprized to hear of this extravagant humour, but there is nothing truer than that, when the free-hooters have ſeveral times taken the ſame place from them, their prelates, after excommunicating and curſing the ſame, quit it entirely, and will not bury even their dead whom we killed, as ſuppoſing them for the foreſaid reaſon unworthy of chriſtian burial.

On the fourteenth in the morning we arrived at Pueblo Viego, from whence their centinels had diſcovered us ſince the thirteenth in the evening, ſo that we found the enemy retrenched in the great church, and about an hundred and fifty horſe upon the place of arms. We preſently fell to work, and, after ſome diſcharges, we put them to flight, but thoſe that were within the church, held it about half an hour longer, and then made their eſcape through a door that was behind the veſtry, which we had not ſecured. We ſtaid a day and a half in this place, and carried away all the proviſions we could lay hands on upon the horſes which we had, and our own backs, and on the ſixteenth arrived on board our ſhip. On the eighteenth we returned to take an Eſtantia, which was a league and a half from the ſaid town, and the maſter whom we took priſoner told us, that, the day we went away, ſix hundred men lay in ambuſh for us, on the way by which

we were to paſs; but that, without knowing it, we had returned by a different road. On the twenty-firſt we went on board with our priſoner, who promiſed us ſome proviſion for his ranſom; and next day we put another priſoner aſhore to endeavour to procure it us with all expedition.

On the twenty-fourth came a Spaniſh officer, who brought us a letter from the vicar-general of the province (and in all appearance) by order of the general of Coſta Rica, who ſent us word there was a peace made between the crowns of France and Spain for twenty years, and that they were joined together to make war upon the Infidels. That therefore we ought to commit no farther hoſtilities, and that if we had a mind to return to the North-ſea, we might come ſafely unto them, and have our paſſage into Europe in his Catholick majeſty's galleons: we gave them an anſwer ſuitable to their propoſal, being well enough acquainted with the evil diſpoſition of the Spaniards towards us, who, by this falſe pretence, thought to have ſeduced us to come the more readily among them, who underſtood the extreme miſery we had endured by one of our people, of whom we made mention before, and who ran away to them to be freed from the long faſts he was forced to with us.

On the twenty-fourth we careened our ſhips, and the next day put thirty priſoners aſhore, part of whom we gave their liberty to, and on the twenty-eighth we made ready to return and go in queſt of our two barks whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the Iſle of St. John de Cueblo, in caſe we were ſeparated from one another. As we were going out of the port, the Spaniards gave notice by the fires they made all along the coaſt, what courſe we ſteered. On the third of December we found ourſelves got above an hundred leagues out at ſea, whither

whither a north-eaſt breeze had driven us; we bore again towards land, and on the fifth went aſhore; we ſent out three canoes, furniſhed with ſeventy men, to croſs the bay of Colebra, and to endeavour to get ſome proviſion along the coaſt, as alſo to diſcharge our ſhips of ſo many mouths, there being but too little victuals left for thoſe who remained behind, and who went to the Iſle of St. John: for, as to the proviſion we were able to get together, while we were aſhore in the port of Realeguo, there was no great quantity of it, for the Spaniards, knowing of our coming, had carried it up far into the country, whither we durſt not go and fetch it with ſo few men as we had with us, as not being yet ſufficiently acquainted with their cowardice.

From Realeguo to Panama there are a great many little ports which you muſt be well acquainted with before you can find them, for the mouth of them is very obſcure, and if you once do miſs them, it is abſolutely impoſſible to get aſhore along the coaſt, the ſea being there always boiſterous, and very high upon the blowing of the leaſt ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt winds upon it. I have obſerved this difference betwixt this ſea and that of the North, that let the wind be never ſo violent, as ſoon as ever it ceaſes, this ſea proves as calm as if it had never blown, whereas in the other, for all the wind is allayed, it continues ſeveral days in the ſame violent agitation as when it blew hard. I have alſo taken notice, that the windy ſtorms that are formed to leeward, are much more dangerous in the former, than thoſe that come from the windward; but in the other, it is contrary, where a ſhip generally eſteems not herſelf to be in danger, but from thoſe that ariſe to windward of her, at leaſtwiſe, if the wind be not ſubject to a very great variation; to which we may add one difference more, that the

South-ſea is pacifick enough upon the main, and very turbulent upon the coaſt, and that of the North is oftentimes very impetuous far out, and almoſt always calm near the ſhore.

The South-ſea breeds in divers parts of it a very great number of ſerpents, in colour like ſpotted marble, and are generally about two feet long; their ſting is of ſo venomous and killing a nature, that, when a man is once ſtung by them, there is no human remedy that can ſecure him from a ſudden death; and that which is indeed very ſurprizing in regard to theſe creatures, is, that when the ſea by the boiſterouſneſs of its waves throws them upon ſome bank or other, though they do not go out of the water, yet they no ſooner touch the ſand, but they preſently die.

On the ninth, having ſtill kept our courſe along the coaſt, we put fifty men in three canoes aſhore, to go and take the town of Eſparſo, which is three leagues from Caldaira, and is the place that ſerves for a port to it; we took the centinels about the third part of our way, who told us, That, beſides the inhabitants of the town, there were five hundred men whom they had ſent for, to come to their aſſiſtance from Carthage, upon the alarm given them by our two barks that had anchored in this bay, from which they were but juſt gone. Upon this intelligence we bethought ourſelves, conſidering the ſmallneſs of our number, to put off this expedition to another time, and ſo returned with all ſpeed, but in ſuch want of proviſion, that we were forced to kill and eat the centinels horſes, after four days ſtrict abſtinence; and this ſort of faſting, which was not the firſt that we had uſed, did not prove to be the laſt neither.

Caldaira is a bay that bears the name of ſix magazines that ſtand about three leagues to the eaſt

eaſt of the mouth of it, and upon the bank of the place of embarking belonging to Eſparſo: this bay which by ſome geographers is called Nicoya, is one of the fineſt ports in the world; though the mouth of it be large, yet, in lieu of that, it is at leaſt twelve leagues within land, and comprehends a great many iſlands of different ſizes within it; there is none but an eaſterly wind that can hurt it: the bottom of the bay is open, by means of very fine rivers that run into it, and by which you may aſcend to ſeveral villages, hatto's, and ſugar-plantations, whereof this country is full. You may chooſe your place of anchorage, according to the length of the cable, that is, from ſix fathom, encreaſing to an hundred, and the bottom is very good: I forgot to obſerve that the ſix magazines of Caldaira, whereof I have ſpoken, were partly built by the inhabitants of Carthage, who make uſe of that for their port, for facilitating the traffick they drive with thoſe living on the coaſt of Peru, before we came to terrify them.

Having on the tenth gone on board our canoes, we went to a great bananery that ſtood in the ſame bay; it is a ſet of fruit-trees which they call bananiers, and the fruit thereof bananes, with which we loaded our canoes for our ſubſiſtence. As we went aſhore, we took the centinel of the little town of Nicoya; from which finding ourſelves at ſome diſtance, we did not then think fit to go up to it, and ſo we directed our courſe for Point Borica, where we arrived on the fourteenth. That is a very pleaſant and delightful place, and, among other things, we could not but admire a walk conſiſting of five rows of cocoa-trees that run along the bank for above fifteen leagues in length, and that in ſo orderly a manner, that though the ſame be no more than the bare work of nature, without any additional help

from art, they ſeem as if they had been all planted on a line.

This fruit, which upon ſeveral occaſions was ſo delightful to us, grows upon the ſtock of a tree that is a kind of palm, twenty or five-and-twenty feet high: it is like a nut, but without making any compariſon of the bigneſs of it, for there are ſome of theſe fruits that weigh twelve or fifteen pounds. The ſhell is very hard, and thick enough; it is wrapped up in a kind of thick covering, made up all of filaments, with which the Spaniards uſe to caulker their ſhips, it being much better than tow, which rots in the water in leſs than a year's time, whereas the other is fed by it and waxeth green. If you bore an hole in this nut, there runs out a quantity of greeniſh liquor, which ſomewhat reſembles the colour of whey, but of a ſharpiſh taſte, and pleaſant enough, and when the ſhell is broken, we find under it a kernel, or what is equivalent thereto, of the thickneſs of a man's finger, very white and nouriſhing, which ſticks very cloſe to the inſide. We left this place on the twentieth, keeping our courſe ſtill all along the continent.

On the twenty-ſecond having no victuals to eat, we put ſixty men in our three canoes aſhore to go ſeek ſome for us, and after travelling the ſpace of a league, we took a very curious hatto, with two priſoners, who told us we were within a league and a half of the little town of Chiriquita, and that there were ſix hundred men in it, which made us ſeize with all expedition upon as much victuals as we could, to carry it to the place where we had left our canoes; but, in our return thither, we found four hundred horſe in the way, whom we fought with all along retreating, till we came to the ſea-ſide. They challenged us again and again, and defied us in threatening language to go to their town, which we

we did not fail to do ſome days after. In the mean time we bore away for the Iſle of St. John, where arriving on the firſt of January, 1686, we found our ſhip and two barks at anchor.

CHAP. III.

The Free-booters voyage to the South-ſea in 1686.

ON the fifth of January, in the new year, we parted to the number of two hundred and thirty men in eight canoes, to go and face the towns-men of Chiriquita, and to give them the viſit they had deſied us to do. And ſo it was, that this Iſland of St. John being about twenty leagues from them, we went aſhore on the ſixth, about ten or eleven o'clock at night, without being diſcovered; but as we had no guide with us, we marched on till daylight without ſeeing any body. We hid ourſelves on the ſeventh all the day in a wood, but as ſoon as night approached, we came out and put on, without diſcovering any body, till the eighth in the morning, when we concealed ourſelves again in another ſmall wood, and ſpent all the day in that place, during which time we came to know that we had miſtaken our meaſures, by going aſhore on that ſide of the river, whereas we ſhould have gone on the other. This was cold comfort to people ſo fatigued as we were; however as ſoon as it was night, we made no more ado than to return to our canoes, wherein we paſſed that river: when we were got on the other ſide, we took the town-watch, by whom we were informed, that the Spaniards had conveyed away all their effects upon our being at their hatto's.

On the ninth we got to Chiriquita two hours before day; we ſurprized all the inhabitants, who were for two days at variance with one another about

going the rounds; and, after we had ſecured our priſoners, we told them, that belonged to us, and that we were come to ſpare them the labour: we ſurprized alſo their court of guard, where they were at play, and as ſoon as they ſaw us among them, they flew to their arms to defend themſelves, but as it was a little too late, we eaſed them of that trouble alſo. Of them we learned that there was a ſmall frigate up the river, which having touched in going out upon a bank of ſand, that lay at the mouth thereof, was forced to go back, and ſo put the proviſion, which was her lading, aſhore. About two in the afternoon we perceived ſome Spaniards in a houſe at ſome diſtance from the town, which made us ſend five of our number to fetch them out; but when we drew near, thoſe whom we had ſeen, having ſhewed themſelves for no other purpoſe than to draw us out, diſappeared, and preſently about an hundred and twenty more came out of a little nook, where they had concealed themſelves, and beſet us in ſuch a manner, that, finding no likelihood of eſcaping, we reſolved never to be taken alive, but to ſell our lives as dear as we could; to which end we immediately ſtood back to back, that we might face the enemy every way, and in this poſture we fought them above an hour and a half; at the expiration whereof, there being no more than two of us in a condition to fight, God was pleaſed that ſome of our men who where upon the guard ſhould come to our relief, being driven thither by the firings; for they thought, before they heard theſe cries, that we were exerciſing ourſelves in ſhooting at a mark. When the enemy ſaw this reinforcement come, they made ſuch haſte to go away that it was impoſſible to overtake them. This ſuccour, coming in ſo ſeaſonably, did infallibly ſave our lives; for the enemy having already killed us two

men,

men, and diſabled another, it was impoſſible we ſhould hold out againſt ſuch a ſhower of bullets as were poured in upon us from all ſides. And ſo I may truly ſay, I eſcaped a ſcouring, and that without receiving as much as one wound, but by a viſible hand of protection from heaven. The Spaniards left thirty dead upon the ſpot, and thus we defended ourſelves as deſperate men, and to ſay all in a word, like Free-booters.

We burnt all the houſes in the town this day, leſt, under the covert of them, our centinels might be ſurprized, and that the enemy might come to inſult us in the night: when we had ſo done, we retired into the great church, where they durſt not come to attack us, but contented themſelves to give us ſome muſket-ſhot from time to time, and that from a great diſtance.

Chiriquita is a ſmall town that ſtands in a plain of Savanas, from whence the ſight is bounded almoſt every way with no other than ſmall, but very pleaſant thickets: there are ſeveral rivulets that traverſe it in divers places, and afterward gently glide into theſe Savanas to water them. It is ſurrounded with a great many hatto's, and they drive no other trade, but in tallow and leather: the port or embarking place belonging to it is on a pretty large river, from whence you muſt aſcend about a league to come at it. There is but one way to come in at its mouth, and the Spaniards themſelves without a buoy will not venture to enter it; there are three leagues by land from this embarking place to the town, and that through ſo pleaſant a way, that none but ſuch as we were could be weary of it, who had no other thoughts than to get victuals to ſatisfy our hunger, which bore hard upon us, when we were going to take this town, having eaten nothing from the fifth, when we left our veſſels, till the ninth, that we took it.

On the tenth we left the place, taking our priſoners along with us, to wait for the ranſoming of them upon an iſland that is within the ſame river, making choice rather of theſe places for that purpoſe, than of the continent, and where being obliged for a long time to ſtay for the money, we ſhould give the Spaniards thereby an opportunity to gather all their forces together, and to pay us all at once, by overpowering us with numbers; whereas theſe iſlands to which they could not come any other way than in ſhallops, and that openly, put us out of care to reimbark according to the meaſures they took by land. When therefore we returned to our canoes, which waited for us at the port of Chiriquita, we found the inhabitants of that town had laid an ambuſcade for us, but we beat them off, and, after the enemy had quite retired, they ſent us a perſon to demand their priſoners, whom they ſaid they would recover, or periſh in the attempt. We told the meſſenger we were very ready to give them up, if they would come and meet us in the race Savana to take them, and that, if they fired one ſingle bullet at us, they ſhould have no quarter, which ſo humbled their pride, that we ſaw no more of them.

As ſoon as we were got to the forementioned iſland we ſent part of our canoes, to look after the cargo of the ſmall frigate which the Spaniards of Chiriquita gave us information of, where they found above an hundred men intrenched; but they could not hinder our men from poſſeſſing themſelves of what they went in ſearch for. Among the baggage they found ſome letters, that, among other things, gave us to underſtand, that the admiral of the Peru fleet, who was returned to Lima, had been burnt, with all her crew, which was at that time four hundred men, by a thunderbolt; and this was ſo much the more ſurprizing and admirable, that no man living could remember

remember to have heard any thunder in that country, no more than to have ſeen it rain.

On the ſixteenth the ranſom for our priſoners came, and after we had ſet them at liberty, we returned aboard our ſhip, which rid then at anchor at St. John's iſland. On the twentieth we concluded among ourſelves, it was neceſſary we ſhould build large periaugues, ſeeing we could make no farther uſe of our ſhip for want of ſails, and we had nothing left to make them with, and ſtill were leſs able to take ſhips from the Spaniards, on this weſtern coaſt, where they had put an entire ſtop to their navigation, ſince we were come thither. On the twenty-ſecond we made choice of tall trees to make our canoes and periaugues of, upon the banks of a curious river which we knew to be in the iſland.

On the twenty-ſeventh we deſcried ſeven ſail of ſhips out at ſea, which made us fit out five canoes to go and ſee what they were, and, as we doubled one of the points of the iſland, we diſcerned twelve periaugues and three long barks, who coaſted it all along. We took them preſently to be the fleet of Peru that was come in queſt of us; we gave our men notice of it without delay, and at the ſame time reſolved to put all we had on board our ſhip into our bark, and to go into that river where our docks were, there to wait the coming of our enemy, where they could not come to attack us without loſing a great many men. This project we put forthwith in execution, and after we had abandoned our ſhip, which could not be brought into that river, we man her aſhore, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have any benefit of it, and put her into a ſailing condition, being very well aſſured of ourſelves, that they did not want ſails, as we did, for that purpoſe.

On the twenty-eighth our centinels came to give us notice, that ſix periaugues plyed along the ſhore,

which made us at the ſame time put an hundred and fifty men to lie in ambuſh on both ſides the river, and then we ſet out with two of our canoes, from whence, after we had ſeen them, we feigned to go away, by going back, to engage them to give us chace; but they, ſuſpecting a ſtratagem in the caſe, bore directly upon our ſhip that was run aground, upon which they fired very furiouſly, though there was none left within it but only a poor cat, which they perceiving, they bravely boarded, and burnt her for the ſake of the iron-work that belonged to her, which is a commodity as rare as it is dear in ſome parts of Peru. On the firſt of February the Spaniſh fleet ſailed away, and left us at eaſe to finiſh our work, upon which we ſpent the remainder of the month.

We underſtood afterwards that the admiral of this fleet had orders to put ſome field-pieces aſhore, to demoliſh thoſe fortifications which they thought we had made upon the iſland, being induced to believe it was ſo by the report of the priſoners, which we ſent them, made of our intentions; we, to impoſe upon them, having aſked whether there were any maſons among them that could do our work, and ſometimes obliged them to give us brick for their ranſom, though we had no need of them. There were no leſs than fourteen of our men died in the month of February.

On the fourteenth of March we departed from the Iſle of St. John with our two barks, an half galley of forty oars, ten great periaugues, and ten ſmall canoes, all built of mapou timber, except our two barks: we gained the windward point of the iſland, to take a review of our men, and found ourſelves weaker by no leſs than thirty perſons, ſince our ſeparation from the Engliſh: but we formed a deſign anew at the ſame time which had been put by for

for above four months, which was to go and take the town of Granada, diſtant now from us about two hundred leagues. To effect this work, it was neceſſary we ſhould be furniſhed with proviſion wherewith to ſubſiſt us during the voyage; and we having none, this made us ſend away our half galley and four canoes, to ſeek for ſome at Pueblo Nuevo, while the reſt of the company went to tarry for us at the iſle of St. Peter, which is two leagues to windward of the river Chiriquita, and to finiſh ſomewhat that was ſtill wanting to the complete equipment of our canoes.

On the ſixth of April, about three hours before daylight, we were got near to the river of Pueblo Nuevo, and by a clear light of the moon we diſcerned a ſmall frigate at its mouth, as alſo a long bark, and a periaugue. We came within piſtol-ſhot of them as ſuppoſing them to be our Engliſh freebooters, from whom we had ſeparated. But we found ourſelves quickly miſtaken, for, after we had haled them, they anſwered us with an intire volley of great and ſmall ſhot, which made us now conjecture that they were, and it was too true, a detachment left by the Spaniſh fleet in that place, when they left us at St. John's iſland, as a guard to two ſmall ſhips, which we knew they were lading with proviſions at the port of this town, in order to tranſport the ſame to Panama. Our miſtake was the reaſon that we had twenty men diſabled to fight, by this firſt diſcharge of the enemy, before we knew well where we were; but, after we were a little recovered of the ſurprize this adventure put us to, we fought them ſtiffly for the ſpace of two hours, though we had the uſe of no other arms than our fuzees, and not one cannon to diſcharge upon them; and they, on their part, defended themſelves ſo much the more vigorouſly, in that they believed

we,

we, after ſuch a ſurprize as we had been expoſed to, would quickly ſlacken our courage, and give way. They did all they could to make ready during the fight, but we hindered them, and no man could appear in the ſhrouds, but we brought them down, as well as their grenadiers, from their round tops. But, finding the light of the moon now gone, we put off out of the reach of their cannon, as well to take care of our wounded men, which amounted to thirty-three, beſides four who were killed outright, as to wait for daylight, in order to terminate this affair, which we were not willing to leave undecided. But the enemy did in the mean time retire under the covert of a retrenchment which, I have ſaid already, they had upon the banks of this river, where the country people, who had heard the noiſe of the fight in the night, were alſo come, which made us conclude, that, if we went to attack them in that place, we could not have that advantage there, we had reſolved to take of them; ſo upon approach of day we ſteered our courſe to go and rejoin our canoes at the iſle of St. Peter, where we arrived on the eighth.

On the ninth we found ourſelves in great want of victuals, having now nothing at all to eat; and this put us hard to it, more eſpecially our wounded men, whom we ſent by our half galley (for their better conveniency) on board our two barks, whom we had appointed to rendezvouz in the bay of Boca del Toro. When this was done, we went aſhore to a town ten leagues to leeward of Chiriquita, where finding none, we left it, and on the eleventh, in our return to our canoes, we found, in order to ſtrengthen us under the languiſhment which hunger had reduced us to, a regale of an ambuſcade of five hundred men laid for us, againſt whom, for all our weakneſs, we made ſo good a defence, that we obliged them to leave us free

free paſſage, but yet not without the loſs of two of our men. We went on board in the evening, to go join our barks in the bay of Boca del Toro, where we arrived the thirteenth, and went a ſhore, ſpending our time to the ſixteenth in hunting, more eſpecially for the ſubſiſtence of our wounded men; and here we found the ſame ſort of deer and birds, as I have taken notice of in our paſſage over the continent, in great plenty.

On the ſame day we departed for the bay of Caldaira, after having renewed our enterprize upon the little town of Eſparſo, of which I have already ſpoken. On the 19th, being arrived in the bay, we went aſhore two hours before day light, and reached the town; about eleven in the morning we found the place was in a manner intirely abandoned from the time we had taken the centinels, who, as I have already obſerved, diverted us from going thither, by the account they gave of the reinforcement that was come to them from Carthage: however, we took ſome priſoners, who told us all the people were retired to this laſt town, which is twenty-four leagues off; ſo that, finding our endeavours all fruſtrated, we returned on the twentieth to the ſea-ſide, to rejoin our canoes.

Eſparſo is reckoned to be three leagues diſtant from the ſea-ſide, and the way thither very bad; you cannot travel the length of a gun-ſhot in even ground, but the ſame is every-where rugged, and full of little mountains and hills, though beyond them the country appears to be very good and delightful. The town is built upon an eminence, from whence one may eaſily ſee all that comes in and goes out of the bay: this town is in a manner encompaſſed with a rivulet that runs round it: between it and Carthage are very curious plains, with royal ways made through them, and that as well as any in Europe.

On

On the twenty-firſt we victualled ourſelves with the fruit of a bananery in this bay, wherein our two barks came to join us, and next day we ſummoned our people aſhore upon this iſland, as well to conſult how we ſhould attack the town of Granada, which we had a deſign upon, as to take an account of what powder they had, as fearing many of them might uſe it in hunting: here we enacted orders whereby thoſe were condemned to loſe their ſhare of the booty got in the place, that ſhould be found guilty of cowardice, violence, drunkenneſs, diſobedience, theft, and ſtraggling from the main body without orders. When this was over, we left the bay the ſame evening, and a ſtrong eaſterly wind ſurprizing us in the night, ſeparated our veſſels from one another: at break of day we told thirteen ſail, wherewith we were amazed, knowing we had no more than a dozen, and this made us give our canoes the ſignal to chace, as well as we, that veſſel that did not belong to us; but, when we had continued the chace for about an hour's time, we perceived five more; and having come up with the foremoſt, we underſtood it was captain Townſley come from the coaſt of Acapulco: he had left his ſhip at the cape, over-againſt the mouth of the bay, where we had been, and went with his five canoes to find out ſome bananes, having very little proviſion on board. He told us that captain David, with his fleet, was on the ſouthern coaſt, and that captain Swans, with his ſhip, was gone to the Eaſt-Indies.

We, finding ourſelves now to be the ſtronger party, called to mind their former imperious dealings with us, and, to ſhew our reſentment of it, we made him and his men, who were in the other four canoes, priſoners: we boarded his veſſel immediately, of which having made ourſelves maſters, we made a ſham of taking it away; but our deſign being only

to frighten them, we left them for ſome time under the apprehenſions of the danger they were in. Then we let the captain know we were honeſter men than he, and that, though we had the upper hand, yet we would not take the advantage of revenging the injuries they had done us, and that we would put him and his men in poſſeſſion of what we had taken from them four or five hours before. This moderation which we exerciſed towards them, together with their being informed by ſome of our crew of a deſign we had upon the town of Granada, engaged them to deſire we would take them in to be our aſſociates in the enterprize; and, they being an hundred and fifteen in number, we readily conſented to ſuch a reinforcement as muſt needs be uſeful to us.

On the twenty-fifth we departed all together, French and Engliſh, in our periaugues and canoes, leaving their ſhips and our two barks under the covert of Cape Blanck, which is twenty leagues to windward of the place where we were to go aſhore, and gave orders to thoſe who were appointed to guard them, to ſail away ſix days after, and to coaſt it till they came to an anchor at the place where we ſhould leave our canoes.

On the ſeventh of April we went aſhore on a flat coaſt, to the number of three hundred and forty-five men, under the conduct of a very good guide, who led us croſs a wood that we might not be diſcovered. We marched on night and day till the ninth, but, notwithſtanding all the precaution we took, we could not hinder our being diſcovered by the inhabitants of the town of Granada, who were fiſhing in a river about fifteen leagues off; and, though they made all the haſte they could to advertiſe the Spaniards of our march, they could not have been there time enough to have given the people notice to remove all their

their effects, conſidering the expedition we uſed to follow them, had not they had (unhappily upon our account) notice given them of us three weeks before by the inhabitants of Eſparſo, who having ſeen the great number of canoes we had, as we paſſed by there, grew ſuſpicious of our deſign.

The fatigue we had undergone during our march, together with the ſharp hunger that preſſed us, obliged us to halt and reſt the ninth in the evening, in a great ſugar-plantation, that is about four leagues diſtant from Granada, and was in our way thither. It belonged to a knight of St. James's, whom, upon our arrival, we failed to take priſoner, our legs being at that time much more diſpoſed to reſt, than to run after him. On the tenth we ſet out, and, upon our approach near the town, we obſerved an eminence above it about a league off, and two ſhips upon the lake of Nicaragua, that carried, as we were ſince informed, all the wealth of the town into an iſland two leagues off. We took a priſoner in a village that was in our way, who told us the inhabitants of the town had intrenched themſelves upon the place of arms, and compaſſed it with a ſtrong wall, ſince our quarter-maſter, who had run away to them, had given information, that we deſigned to come amongſt them: he told us farther, that that place was guarded with fourteen pieces of cannon, and ſix patereroes; and laſtly, that they had detached ſix troops of horſe to attack our rear, while our front ſhould be engaged with the Spaniards, if ſo be we ſhould come up to them.

This information, which doubtleſs would have terrified any other but free-booters, did not retard our deſign one minute, nor hinder us. About two in the afternoon of the ſame day we came up to the town, where, at one entrance into the ſuburbs, we met with a ſtrong party lying in ambuſh for us,

whom, after an hour's engagement, we fell with that fury on, that we made our way over all their bellies, with the loſs only of one man on our own ſide, and from thence entered the town, where we made an halt to wait for the anſwer of ſeveral of our company, whom we had detached to go round, and take obſervation of a fort which we ſaw in a direct line from the ſtreet by which we entered. Preſently after came a party to inform us, that it was a ſquare fort, and that, beſides the ſtreet we were in, they had alſo obſerved three more, that looked out to the other three ſides of that fort, by which the enemy could diſcover whatever came towards them through thoſe avenues, which were, moreover, all commanded by their cannon and ſmall arms.

We were not long in debate what we ſhould do; we could eaſily ſee we were too few to make our attacks by thoſe different ways all at a time. Wherefore, after we had got together all thoſe whom we had ſent out to ſcout, who, for ſome time, had been detained by ſome light ſkirmiſhes, we made ourſelves ready to fall on through that ſtreet alone where we then were; and it is well we did ſo, for if we had diſperſed ourſelves through the others, the horſe, which were in the rear of us, and obſerved our motion, would not have failed to hem us in, which they durſt not do while we kept all together.

After we had exhorted one another to fall on bravely, we advanced a round place towards the ſaid fortification: as ſoon as the defendants ſaw us within a good cannon-ſhot of them, they fired furiouſly upon us; but obſerving, that, at every diſcharge of their great guns, we ſaluted them down to the ground, in order to let their ſhot fly over us, they bethought themſelves of falſe priming them, to the end we might raiſe our bodies after the ſham was over, and ſo be really ſurprized with their true firing.

firing. As ſoon as we diſcovered this ſtratagem, we ranged ourſelves along the houſes; and having got upon a little aſcent, which was a garden-plat, we fired upon them from thence ſo openly for an hour and a half, that they were obliged to quit the ground, to which our hardy boys, who were got to the foot of their walls, contributed yet even more than the other, by pouring in hand-granadoes inceſſantly upon them, ſo that at laſt they betook themſelves to the great church, or tower; but they wounded us ſome men: as ſoon as our people, who had got upon the ſame eminence, perceived that the enemy fled, they called to us to jump over the walls, which we had no ſooner done, but they followed us: and thus it was that we made ourſelves maſters of their place of arms, and conſequently of the town, from whence they fled, after having loſt a great many men. We had on our ſide but four men killed, and eight wounded, which, in truth, was very cheap: when we got into the fort, we found it to be a place capable of containing ſix thouſand fighting men; it was encompaſſed with a wall, the ſame as our priſoners gave us an account of. It was pierced with many holes, to do execution upon the aſſailants, and was well ſtored with arms. That part of it which looked towards the ſtreet, through which we attacked it, was defended by two pieces of cannon, and four patereroes, to ſay nothing of ſeveral other places made too open in the wall, through which they thruſt inſtruments made on purpoſe, to break the legs of thoſe that ſhould be ſo adventurous as to come near it; but theſe, by the help of our grenadiers, we rendered uſeleſs to them. After we had ſung *Te Deum* in the great church, and ſet four centinels in the tower, we fixed our court of guard in the ſtrong-built houſes, that are alſo incloſed within the place of arms, and there gathered

gathered all the ammunition we could get: then we went to viſit the houſes, wherein we found nothing but a few goods, and ſome proviſion, which we carried into our court of guard.

Next day in the evening we detached a party of an hundred and fifty men, to go and find out ſome women that we might put them to ranſom, and ſome booty which we were told they had in the ſugar-plantation a league off of the city: but they were gone by the time we got thither, as not believing themſelves ſafe in that place, ſo that our party came back *re infecta*. The ſame day we ſent a priſoner to the Spaniards, to require them to ranſom the town, or elſe we would burn it; whereupon they ſent a monk to treat with us, who ſaid the officers and inhabitants were in conſultation about it, but that one of our men whom they had taken as he lagged behind, through wearineſs upon the road, without the officer, that brought up our rear, having taken notice of it, aſſured them we would not burn it, becauſe our deſign was to paſs ſome months after to the North-ſea, by the lake there, and to furniſh ourſelves in this town with neceſſaries for our journey, which we ſhould not meet with if we fired the place: ſo that the ſaid man having given them ſuch aſſurance, they would no longer trouble themſelves about giving an anſwer to the propoſal we had made for their ranſoming the town, which at laſt conſtrained ſome of us to ſet fire to the houſes, out of mere ſpight and revenge.

The opportunity, which now offered itſelf unto us of paſſing through the lake to the North-ſea, was not at this time over favourable, and we ſhould not have failed to make uſe of it, if we had had canoes ready in this place to go and take two ſhips, and the wealth of the town, which the inhabitants had carried, for the better ſecuring of them, into the iſland,

iſland, which I have already ſaid was in the ſaid lake; which would have put a full end unto the trouble we had been in from the time we failed of ſeizing the flota before Panama; but the term of dangers and miſeries, which our deſtiny had ſtill in ſtore for us, being not yet come, we could not take the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to get out of thoſe parts of the world, which, though very charming and agreeable to thoſe who are ſettled there, yet did not appear to be ſo to an handful of men, as we were, without ſhipping, the moſt part of our time without victuals, and wandering amidſt a multitude of enemies, againſt whom we were obliged to be continually upon our guard, and who did all that in them lay to deprive us of ſubſiſtence.

Granáda is a large and ſpacious town, ſituated in a bottom, inclined to the coaſt of the South-ſea, whoſe churches are very ſtately, and houſes well enough built: they have ſeveral religious houſes there, both of men and women: the great church ſtands at one of the ends of the place of arms; the country thereabouts is very deſtitute of water, they having no other there than only the lake of Nicaragua, upon the ſide whereof the city is built, and round about which you may ſee a great many fine ſugar-plantations, which are more like ſo many villages, than ſingle houſes, and, among the reſt, is that belonging to the Knight of St. James's, where we lay in our march to the town, where there is a very pretty and rich church.

On the tenth we left the city, and took along with us one piece of cannon, with four patereroes, as not queſtioning but we ſhould meet with oppoſition in our way, before we came to the ſea-ſide, from which we were near twenty leagues diſtant, and therein we were not deceived; ſeeing the Spaniards

niards waited for us, to the number of two thouſand five hundred men, within a quarter of a league of the town, and preſently charged us: but, not dreaming that we had brought any of their artillery along with us, they were ſo terrified when we had fired two cannon ſhot upon their firſt ambuſcade, that they left us a free paſſage in this place only; for, though they ſaw a great many of their men ſprawling upon the ground, they ceaſed not all the way at certain diſtances to lay new ambuſhes for us, where they had no more ſucceſs than at firſt. We took one of them priſoners, who told us, there was a million and a half of pieces of eight long ſince ordered for the ranſoming of their town, in caſe the ſame ſhould be taken, and that the ſame was buried in the wall, ſo as that it could not be ſeen: but we had no inclination to go back in ſearch of this money, ſeeing we found difficulty enough to rid ourſelves out of the hands of ſo conſiderable a number of enemies as we had already to deal with.

We were forced that evening to leave our cannon behind us, after we had firſt nailed them up, for the oxen that drew them were dead for want of water, having travelled ſeveral leagues through very great heats, without one drop of water, and through ſuch a duſt, as choaked both man and beaſt. But we reſerved our patereroes which were carried by mules, who could better bear this inconveniency. At laſt we lay in a very pretty village, called Maſſaya, that ſtands upon the ſide of the lake; but from hence to the water there is ſo great a deſcent, that a man of full growth appears to be no bigger than a child: we were received by the Indians in this place with open arms, but the Spaniards that had retired thither, knowing the extreme thirſt wherewith we were afflicted, had ſpoiled all the water that was in the village, hoping thereby to reduce us

to

to ſuch neceſſity, that we might go by night to drink to the lake, that ſo they might lay ſome ambuſh for us: but theſe Indians, that came to meet and pray us not to burn their village, remedied this evil, in aſſuring us, they would ſupply us with whatever we had occaſion for, as long as we ſtaid there, and particularly with water. Taken with this their ſubmiſſion, we granted them their requeſt ſo much the more willingly, ſeeing they gave us to underſtand upon ſeveral occaſions, that they were more our friends, than they were the Spaniards.

All theſe Indians are a miſerable people, whom the Spaniards endeavour to reduce and bring under their ſubjection by little and little, with a feigned gentleneſs practiſed towards them, to make them forgetful of thoſe cruelties and tyrannies they had heretofore exerciſed in thoſe parts, and which they are not wanting ſtill to keep in remembrance. They have, at preſent, a pretty number of them there, whom they have enticed down from thoſe mountains where they had taken refuge, and brought them to ſubmit in this manner. They have given them places to build boroughs and villages upon, but all their labour redounds to the advantage of the Spaniards; ſo that, being uſed as ſlaves by them, they are ſo weary of their dominion, and the barbarity ſhewed them, by being made uſe of as palliſadoes by the Spaniards when they fight us, that if we had been people fit to receive them, as often as they made an offer to take our parts, we ſhould have formed a very conſiderable army; and it is certain, that, if they had but arms and protection, they would have infallibly ſhaken off the yoke of their pitiful maſters, being three times more in number than they.

We

We reſted only one day in this place to refreſh our wounded men, where two died of the cramp, which contracted all their nerves; this is ſo malignant a diſtemper in this country, that, when it ſeizes upon a ſtranger that is wounded, it will certainly kill him: this ſame day came a father to us from the Spaniards, to redemand another father from us, who was one of our priſoners, who had taken up arms againſt us, and had his pockets full of poiſoned bullets: we required in exchange for him one of our men, whom they had taken, which they would by no means agree to; ſo that we carried the latter along with us as far as the ſea-ſide.

On the ſeventeenth we left this borough, and lay in another place three leagues beyond it, from whence we paſſed next day, and, as we came out of a foreſt to enter into a plain, we diſcovered five hundred men upon an aſcent, waiting for our coming, commanded by the above-mentioned Catalonian quarter-maſter that had deſerted us: they had put up bloody colours, to ſignify they would give no quarter, which obliged us to lay by our white colours, and diſplay our red as well as they. We marched directly to the place where they were without ſtopping, though they fired very thick upon us, and, when we came within muſket-ſhot, we detached our van-guard to beat them off their ground, which they did with wonderful bravery; here we took about fifty horſes: the enemy, in their flight, cowardly left part of their arms behind them, beſides their dead and wounded men, by which laſt we underſtood that theſe people were the reinforcement which the inhabitants of the town of Leon had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Granada againſt us, and who were returned home.

After we had reſted about an hour, we continued our march and lay at a little town which the inhabitants had forſaken. On the nineteenth we lay in a hatto, and the next day in an Eſtantia, where we reſted ſome days to refreſh ourſelves, and to ſalt our proviſions to carry on board our ſhips; where we knew very well there could be no victuals left. I always went before with an advanced party of fifty men, to go and inform thoſe who looked after our veſſels with our return. On the twenty-ſixth the reſt of our men came to the ſea-ſide, where we reimbarked all together, and underſtood that four of our men, wounded in the fight at Pueblo Viego, were dead, but more for want of ſuſtenance than their wounds.

On the twenty-ſeventh we ſailed for Realeguo, and on the twenty-eighth anchored in that port, where, upon our going aſhore, the centinels of Pueblo Viego diſcovered us, but that did not hinder us to proceed and arrive at the place about noon: the Spaniards, who had heard of our coming, fled every-where; but the heats are ſo exceſſive in theſe parts, that you cannot travel there this time of day; and this made us go and ſee rather for ſome ſhade or tufts of graſs whereon to ſet our feet, than to run after the enemy: however we took ſome priſoners. We tarried there but two days, and after we had gathered as much proviſion as we could find in the houſes, we ſent out a party to ſee for ſome horſes, whereof they brought us an hundred; we departed on the firſt of May, and carried our proviſion to the river-ſide at Realeguo, where our canoes were, who carried the ſame afterwards on board our ſhips, while we went out to ſeek for more, that ſo we might get together a good quantity, and not be obliged to conſume it as we brought it in.

On the ſecond we went to a ſugar-plantation to fetch off ſix cauldrons, which we brought away next day, and on the fourth ſet out for a borough two leagues from Realeguo, which they call Ginandego, which ſome of the inhabitants a few days before prayed us by way of raillery to go and viſit, as thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by a retrenchment caſt up at the avenue leading to it, and that was defended by two hundred men: we got thither on the fifth, by break of day; but, being diſcovered by the centinel, he carried the Spaniards notice thereof, who gave us no occaſion to deſire them to quit it, after they had given us a few muſquet-ſhot; ſo that, to puniſh their rhodomontades, we burnt the place down to the ground: we took one of their people priſoner, by whom we underſtood that the corregidor of Leon, who was very deſirous to drive us away from that coaſt, had ordered all the Tements, as ſoon as we got to any place, to burn all the proviſion they had, which to our ſorrow was but too well executed, not only here, but every-where elſe, and was the cauſe alſo of that hunger and extraordinary toil which we were forced to endure in theſe ſeas, as long as we ſtaid there.

The ſame day about noon came about eight hundred men into a Savana from Leon to fight us; the centinels, which we had placed on the top of the ſteeple, rung the alarum-bell to give us notice to get together, and come out of the houſes where we were diſperſed; whereupon we marched in a body of an hundred and fifty men, with red colours, to fight them; but as they could not endure to let us come within muſquet-ſhot of them, for they fled without any more ado, we were obliged to retire, and on the ſixth went away to go on board our ſhips, which we careened next day, as we alſo cleaned our canoes.

On the ninth we had a conſultation together, about what way we ſhould take, and here we found ourſelves of two opinions; one party was for going up before Panama, being in hopes they had begun their navigation again, as knowing we were far enough from them; but the reſt repreſented, that many times they had ſuch years on that coaſt, whereof that might be one of them, that eight months thereof was ſad weather, in reſpect to exceſſive rains and ſoutherly winds which reign there, and that therefore it would be more adviſable to go lower weſtward, and winter upon ſome iſland or other, and there to wait for fair weather.

Now theſe different ſentiments were purſued by us, and, every man having made choice of his ſide, next day our ſurgeons had orders to give in an account of thoſe among the wounded, who were crippled, to the end we might make them ſatisfaction before we divided. They told us we had four men crippled, and ſix hurt, to which we gave ſix hundred pieces of eight a man, and a thouſand to thoſe that were crippled, as it was our conſtant cuſtom in thoſe ſeas; and it was exactly all the money we had got together, that was applied to that uſe: we made a diviſion of the barks and canoes on the twelfth, and found ourſelves to be an hundred and forty-eight French men, ready to go up towards Panama (without comprehending the Engliſh under captain Townſley) and the ſame number of French ſailed alſo to the weſtward. Next day our proviſion was ſhared amongſt us, and now it was that we divided into two parts; thoſe who were for the weſtward put themſelves under the conduct of captain Grognet, and we, that were bound for Panama, were commanded by captain Townſley, and then we went to anchor at an iſland, half a league diſtant from that we left, to take in water

and wood: on the ſixteenth captain Grognet ſent his quarter-maſter to deſire us to put none of our priſoners aſhore, for fear they ſhould give the Spaniards notice of our ſeparation, for, as he had a deſign to make a deſcent upon them, he was apprehenſive that ſuch a diſcovery would make them more reſolute and hardy to oppoſe them.

On the nineteenth we made ready, and ſailed for Panama with captain Townſley's ſhip and one bark: we ſteered E. S. E. to S. S. E. and to S. S. W. till midnight, when we were overtaken with a ſtorm, which made us lie by till the twentieth at noon, when the weather proved fair, then we ſteered E. S. E. to the twenty-third, when we anchored in the bay of Colebra to take in water. We ſpent that day there to take tortoiſes, which are to be found in great numbers in that little bay: they are of different ſizes, and we found one ſort of them ſo large, that one was enough for fifty perſons to feed upon in a day. On the twenty-fourth we put an hundred and fifty men aſhore, in order to find out ſome town or borough, we having no guide with us that knew this country; and, after we had walked a league or thereabouts, we alighted upon three hatto's very near one another, where finding edibles enough, we ſtaid till the twenty-ſixth, when we returned on board; then captain Townſley propoſed we ſhould go and take the town of Villia, which is thirty leagues to leeward of Panama, to which all of us agreed, and that evening we weighed, having a wind blowing from the land, which ſerved us till the twenty-ſeventh at noon, when it blew very hard from the ſouth-eaſt, accompanied with rain till the twenty-eighth in the evening, when it began to allay; we were favoured all the twenty-ninth with a weſterly wind, and that evening were brought in ſight of Cape Blanch. On the thirtieth the weather was fair

enough; but on the thirty-firſt, two hours before daylight, it grew very boiſterous, ſo that we were forced to put in for that cape; we had a thunder-bolt fell upon the end of our great ſail-yard, which did no more than crack it: having moderate weather on the firſt of June, we ſteered eaſt-ſouth eaſt, and next day about noon had a ſight of land; but it was ſo hazy, that we could not tell where we were: however we ſteered eaſt by ſouth-eaſt, to come near. The weather being now ſomewhat cleared up, we found we were between the bay of Boca del Toro, and the point called Barica, when we ſailed ſouth and by ſouth-eaſt, to put out to ſea, and then bore to the north-eaſt, that we might reach the iſle of St. John de Cueblo.

On the ſeventh we put in at the iſle of Montoſa, ſix leagues to the ſouthward of that of St. John; we ſet out three canoes, with which we coaſted round about this laſt, and our ſhips anchored at another little iſland, which is half a league to the eaſt: while we were going round St. John's iſland with our canoes, we found nothing there but one of our priſoners, who having made his eſcape from us when we were there, and, being not able to get to the continent, returned to us: on the tenth we went back to our ſhips, and next day took in our ſtore of water and wood, and cleaned our ſhips: there aroſe the ſucceeding night a north wind that tore our cables, and made us think we ſhould be thrown aſhore; but, as good luck would have it, it came about, and gave us an opportunity to make ready, and to caſt anchor farther from the ſhore. By the favour of the lightning we diſcovered our canoes, and found their ropes alſo broken, and that the waves were throwing them aſhore alſo, unleſs we had ſaved them, though we could not hinder one of them from being ſtaved to pieces.

On the thirteenth we made ready, and ſailed for la Villia with a weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, made land on the fifteenth, and knew it to be the cape called Morn a Puercos; then we bore off to ſea with a hard wind till the evening, when the weather grew ſo very bad, that we did nothing till the eighteenth, but let our ſhips drive with a ſouth-weſt wind, having terrible rain all the while till noon, when the weather grew better; and, being cleared up, we diſcerned three rocks, which are called the Three Brothers, ſtanding three leagues to leeward of the bay of Villia, whither we were going. On the nineteenth we ſaw the point Mala, which is leeward of that bay: we ſailed all night northward to get to the ſhore; and next morning at break of day we found ourſelves within five or ſix leagues of it, when we furled all our ſails except our ſprit-ſail: next evening we went on board our canoes, and put on all night after we had given our ſhips orders to lie by, and wait for us at the mouth of the bay where we were.

On the twenty-firſt in the morning we diſcovered the place where we were to go aſhore, and caſt anchor till night came, as we alſo took down our maſts, for fear they ſhould be diſcovered from the ſhore, and then made ourſelves ready to land, which we did on the twenty-ſecond an hour before day: but experience telling us we had not time enough before us to get to the place before daylight appeared, we put three leagues off where we anchored, having no where in this bay above fifteen fathom water. That evening we made for the ſhore again, which we could not recover before midnight, becauſe the currents were againſt us. After we had got footing we marched to the number of an hundred and ſixty men directly to the town, and took one of two Spaniards whom we found on the way, who told us that he was ſent

by the alcaide major to watch on the ſea-ſide, becauſe they had ſeen a ſhip and a bark aloof off, which yet they were ſo little alarmed with, that they had increaſed their guard with no more than twenty men: we continued our march, and, for all the expedition we were able to uſe, it was an hour after ſun-riſing before we could get to the town, where we found no reſiſtance, half of the people being then at maſs: of men and women we took three hundred priſoners, by whom we underſtood there were three barks in the river, on which the town was ſituated. We ſent preſently out a party to take them, but the Spaniards, having loſt no time, ſunk one of them, hid the ſails and rudder of the other two, and cut down their maſts by the middle; ſo that the party, going on further, gave notice to thoſe of us whom we had left to take care of our canoes, which they found at anchor at the river's mouth, that we had taken Villia; we gathered together that day the merchandize which the fleet had left in this town, computed by the Spaniards to be worth a million and a half, and to the value of fifteen thouſand pieces of eight in good ſilver, which was an inconſiderable prize to what we ſhould have found there, if the Spaniards, in all theſe countries, who are always apprehenſive of the viſits of the free-booters, had not hid their treaſures out of our ſight, many of whom choſe rather to be killed, than to diſcover the places where they had buried them.

On the twenty-fourth we ſent a party of fourſcore men to conduct a like number of horſes laden with bales of goods to the river-ſide, where we knew there were two canoes belonging to the Spaniards, on board of which, after they had put them, they were to bring them to the river's mouth where ours were: but one of our men, ſent upon this occaſion, was taken by

by the enemy: the ſame day we ſent a letter to the alcaide major (as they call him) in order to know whether he would ranſom the town, and buy the effects we had ſeized: he ſent us anſwer, that all the ranſom, that he took upon him to give us, was powder and ball, whereof he had a great deal at our ſervice; that, as to the priſoners we had taken, he committed them to the hands of God; and moreover, that his people were getting together as faſt as they could to get the honour to ſee us. Upon the receiving this anſwer, which angered all our men, we fired the town, and went our ways to lie in a place where our booty was kept by our fourſcore men, which was about a quarter of a league off: we were alarmed ſeveral times that night, and on the twenty-fifth put the beſt and fineſt effects on board the two Spaniſh canoes, becauſe we could not carry off all. For our own canoes, as we have ſaid, were at the mouth of the river, on board of which we could have laden the reſt; but they durſt not come up thither, becauſe of the ambuſcades of the Spaniards who had already killed them a man, as they were endeavouring to come up to us, purſuant to the orders we had before left with them: wherefore, having laden the two Spaniſh canoes, we put nine men on board them, and the reſt guarded them by land, all along the river-ſide, while ſix hundred Spaniards did the ſame on the other ſide, without being diſcovered by us, becauſe of a great many trees, buſhes, and thickets that grew along the banks thereof. When we had marched on about a league, we came to a place ſo full of theſe trees and thickets, that we could not paſs it, ſo that we were obliged to take a turn about, which brought us off from the river-ſide about two hundred paces, which was the occaſion, as you will hear, of the loſs of all our booty, and the death of ſome of our men.

As we quitted the place where we lay, we ordered thoſe who had the charge of our canoes to ſtop in this river, at a place where there were three Spaniſh barks, to the end we might endeavour to bring them away; but when they came there, they were ſuddenly ſurprized with an ambuſcade, of which the Spaniards were never niggard to us, and, as they defended themſelves againſt them, the current of the river drove them beyond the three barks, and conſequently far from us; which was exactly what they would have, for, as ſoon as they ſaw them in a place where we could not relieve them, they diſcharged ſixty muſket-ſhot at them, with which they killed four and wounded one. The reſt made their eſcape to the other ſide of the river, and abandoned their canoes, which a dozen Indians, who ſwam the river, carried to the Spaniards, who cut off the head of one of our men, who was only wounded, and ſet it on the top of a pole, that we might ſee it as we came down the river.

After we had finiſhed the tour we had taken, we drew near the river again; and being to come to the place where the three barks were, and not finding our canoes, we thought they were ſtill behind; but about an hour after we ſaw three of thoſe who had the charge of them coming through the thickets toward us, who gave us a relation of the diſaſter that befel them, and ſaid, that, as they paſſed the woods, they found the rudders and ſails of thoſe three barks, in two of which we embarked ourſelves all together, and ſent out conſtantly fifty men by land before us, to ſeek out thoſe ſails and rudders, giving them a ſignal, that we would fire off three guns, and that they ſhould anſwer us with as many, to ſhew where they ſhould find us, to the end they might join us there. But, at the ſame time that we fired our three pieces, we heard the

report

report of above five hundred, which made us immediately conclude our men were attacked, wherefore we delayed not to go aſhore, in order to relieve them; but, by the time we came up, the engagement was over; and, had not the river been between them and us, the matter had not been ended ſo. We found one of our people in this place, who had eſcaped out of our veſſels, after we had brought away the ſhip-tackle that were hid in the woods.

After we were embarked, we aſked the captain of horſe of Villia, that was our priſoner, where it was the Spaniards could lay other ambuſcades for us; he anſwered it might be about the river's mouth, and not only ſo, but that we ſhould miſtruſt all thoſe places, which ſeemed to give them any advantage over us, and then we came to an anchor, becauſe of the coming in of the tide.

On the twenty-ſixth we went aſhore at a place where they had killed our men the day before; we found the two canoes daſhed to pieces, and the bodies of our men whom they had wounded in ſeveral places after they were dead: one of them they had thrown into the fire, and put the other's head upon a pole, as we have ſaid already. Theſe objects ſo enraged our men, that they cut off, at the ſame time, four of their priſoners heads, whom they ſet up alſo upon poles in the ſame place. Then we took the bodies of ours to bury them on the ſea-ſide, and, before we got thither, we were forced three times to go aſhore to break through the ambuſcades laid for us all along the river, at the mouth whereof we found alſo that we were warned of by the captain of horſe aforeſaid; but we happily freed ourſelves from it, though with the loſs of three men, and one wounded. At laſt we rejoined our canoes, where one of our wounded men died ſoon after.

The river of Villia is very large, and, at low-

water, it breaks at the mouth of it as on a flat ſhore. About a league to windward ſtands a great rock, which night and day, and at all ſeaſons, is covered with a vaſt number of birds called fregates, maubies, and great goziers, that live altogether by fiſhing: great ſhips cannot enter into this river, they being obliged to anchor within cannon-ſhot in the ſea, but, for barks of about 40 tons, they can go up a league and a half within it: the port, or place of embarking belonging to Villa, is ſtill a league and a half higher, and the town a quarter of a league diſtant from it; it is very well ſituated, but its churches are almoſt fallen to ruin, though they are very rich on the inſide: its ſtreets are very ſtraight, and the private houſes pretty well built; on the outſide of it are a great many hatto's, accompanied with very fine ſavanas: the town of Natal, which is the higheſt, ſtands ſeven leagues diſtant from it.

On the twenty-ſeventh came a perſon on board us to re-demand our priſoners, with whom we agreed for ten thouſand pieces of eight ranſom, and threatened to cut off all their heads, if they did not ſend us the money by the twenty-ninth. But, inſtead of that, he returned to tell us, that the alcaide major had ſeized upon thoſe of their people, who were our priſoners, whom we had ſent aſhore to get wherewithal to ranſom their wives; in revenge whereof we preſently cut off the heads of two priſoners, and gave them the meſſenger to carry to the alcaide, telling him, if he ſent us no other anſwer, we would cut off the heads of the reſt, and, after having put the women upon an iſland, we would go to take himſelf: the ſame perſon in the evening returned to tell us, that all the ranſoms would come, and that, beſides them, they would beſtow upon us ten beefs, twenty ſheep, and two packs of meal, the half whereof

whereof uſually weighed an hundred pound, every day as long as we ſtaid.

On the thirtieth they brought us back the man whom they had taken, in exchange for the captain of horſe that was our priſoner; and as they ſhewed themſelves very fond of having French arms, they pretended to have loſt them that belonged to our man, for which we made them pay four hundred pieces of eight: they propoſed to buy them one of the barks we had taken from them, and agreed with us for ſix hundred pieces of eight, and one hundred pounds of nails, of which we ſtood in great need; whereupon we delivered her up, after we had firſt taken out her tackle and anchors. They alſo required a paſſport from us, that we would not retake the bark, in caſe we met with her out at ſea, but only the goods wherewith ſhe ſhould be laden, which we alſo gave them.

Next day in the evening they brought us the ten thouſand pieces of eight, as had been agreed upon; then we weighed, in order to go anchor at a place that ſerved as a little port to an hatto, where they were to give us an hundred and twenty ſalted beefs: we departed from thence on the fourth of July, and anchored at the iſle of Iguana, to ſee and get us ſome water, not daring to go and get us any on the continent that was guarded with four thouſand men: but after we had cruiſed in ſome places, and found that the water was brackiſh, we reſolved, rather than we would die for thirſt, to make a deſcent with two hundred men on the terra firma, in order to procure us ſome in ſpight of the Spaniards, whom we found about an hundred paces from the ſea-ſide lying upon the graſs, and, after a ſhort fight, put them to flight, ſeeing we were a people would hazard all for a ſmall matter: this being over, we preſently filled ſome caſks with water, and re-imbarked again.

On

On the ſeventh we weighed anchor, and ſailed for the King's Iſles, and on the ninth anchored at Morne a Puercos, fourteen leagues to leeward of the iſland Iguana, to take in more water, there being nobody there to oppoſe us: we departed on the tenth with a favourable weſt-wind, and that day one of our wounded men died. On the thirteenth we diſcovered an iſland called Galera, which is to leeward of all the King's Iſlands; and on the fourteenth we began to perceive the currents that reign all the year round between thoſe iſlands, which made us put farther off to ſea. On the fifteenth we had a north-weſt wind, a freſh gale which brought us near land, and three days after, which was the eighteenth, we diſcovered cape Pin, and kept all day at the cape, for fear of being diſcovered by the inhabitants of thoſe many iſlands that were round about us.

On the twenty-firſt in the evening, we went on board our canoes, and landed at midnight, but, for all the precaution we had taken, we were diſcovered by the people that were fiſhing for oyſter-pearls, which are to be found in great numbers, ſticking to the bottom of the rocks that are round about theſe iſlands: on the twenty-ſecond in the evening we diſcovered, from one of theſe iſlands where we had made a deſcent, a ſhip under ſail, to whom we gave chace, and came up with her two hours before daylight, whom, without any more ado, we boarded, and made ourſelves maſters of her: the men on board told us, the inhabitants of Panama did not think we were to near, and that, as we had come from the taking of Villia, they believed we had choſe rather to have gone and wintered at St. John's iſland, where they thought ſtill we had built a fort, grounding their perſuaſions upon thoſe ſhams, I have before obſerved, we had formerly made, and ſtill did, as we found occaſion. They told us alſo that ſix-and-thirty Engliſh and

and French were come from Peru in a bark, with an intention to paſs by the way of the river Boca del Chica to the North-ſea, but that the Spaniards, having intelligence thereof from the Indians, with whom they had made peace, ſince they had granted us paſſage through their country by that ſame river into the South-ſea, went out to meet them in great numbers, had defeated the greateſt party, and brought one priſoner to Panama: moreover, that two Engliſh parties conſiſting of forty men each, having an intention to paſs from the North to the South-ſea, had been all of them maſſacred but four, who were ſtill priſoners at Panama; and, laſtly, that there was a bark in the river of Boca del Chica, that tarried for eight hundred pounds in gold, dug up in the neighbouring mines, in order to carry it to Panama.

On the ſame day we returned on board our ſhips, and found them at anchor by the greateſt of the King's Iſlands, and ordered our carpenters to make an half galley of the bark we had taken on the twenty-ſixth. We put ſome queſtions afreſh to the captain of the ſaid bark, who told us, they were in daily expectation at Panama of the arrival of two ſhips laden with meal, which were to carry alſo the pay of their ſoldiers from Lima; upon which information we ſent out our half-galley, which was now finiſhed, to ſcout without the iſlands. On the thirtieth we departed with our canoes, and went aſhore upon one of theſe iſlands, where we ſurprized a perſon that was come from Panama, whoſe maſter was captain of thoſe Greek periaugues, whereof we had formerly ſpoken, who came on purpoſe thither to be taken, to the end he might endeavour by artificial ways to lead us into a ſnare, of which I am ready to give an account. This man immediately pretended a great deal of ſincerity, in telling us ſeveral things, which he

he knew we were not ignorant of, and ſome others, which we could not quickly and eaſily come to know; and among the reſt, that there were in the river of Seppa two merchant barks, and a periaugue with ſixty Indians on board, whom the Spaniards had armed ſince they made a peace with them; that beſides, the governor of Villia had acquainted the preſident of Panama, that one of our men, whom they had taken, had aſſured him that thirty more of us, who had not been informed of the peace and good underſtanding there was between the Indians and the Spaniards, were about to paſs from this ſea to that of the North, by the ſame way we all of us had come into the South-ſea; and that, upon this information, the preſident had ſent an hundred men into the river of Boca del Chica to wait for them: but to compaſs his deſign, which was to draw us under the forts of Panama, he told us in the laſt place, that they had a little frigate which came laden into that port, and a galley that was ſent out every evening upon the ſcout; we reſolved to take the advantage of this information, which we took to be candid and real, and not to neglect this opportunity of getting ſome veſſels for ourſelves, whereof we ſtood in great need.

On the firſt of Auguſt we ſent our galley for this purpoſe into the river of Seppa, in order to take one of the barks our captain ſpoke of, and at the ſame time we departed alſo with four canoes to go and ſeize thoſe ſhips in the port of Panama, being accompanied by our Greek intelligencer, who intended to be our guide upon this occaſion. He brought us two hours before daylight before the town, and, as the moon ſhone very bright, we ſtaid for ſome cloud to obſcure it, to facilitate our approach undiſcovered to the ſhips in the port, whereof we ſaw one already, which, to our thinking, had her

her ſails looſe: and here was the lure and ſnare to which the captain led us; but by the effect of mere chance, or rather our own good fortune, we turned away to a ſhip which we unexpectedly ſaw going out of the port, and gave her chace, believing the ſame to be the galley that uſually went out to ſcour, as we had been told: we took her without a gun-ſhot, and, upon examination of the captain who commanded her, he diſcovered unto us that the preſident of Panama had ſent us a Greek, who was to ſuffer himſelf to be taken by us, and to whom he had promiſed a very great reward, if he ſucceeded in the project he had formed of deſtroying us; that the means that had been agreed upon, to effect it, were to bring us under the forts of that town, allured with the hopes of taking thoſe ſhips there, wherewith he had amuſed us, and whereof that which ſeemed to us to have her ſails looſe was but a ſham ſhip, a piſtol-ſhot from the port, which was built upon firm land, of ſorry planks ill ſet together, in which they had ſet up maſts, and adorned her with ſome ſails: and as this was the moſt apparent object, and the firſt that offered itſelf in ſight, it was not to be queſtioned, but that we, who muſt believe the ſame to have been on the water, being deceived with the darkneſs of the night, would not have failed (being ſo greedy as we were to take her) to row up to her, where our canoes muſt infallibly run far aſhore, and that, in the time that muſt neceſſarily have been ſpent in getting them off, the Spaniards would have leiſure to fall upon us, where they did not doubt, but ſo great a number of men, as they had in ſo conſiderable a town as that was, would quickly overpower and deſtroy us.

This information, which came ſo ſeaſonably, that it ſaved us from the certain danger we were going to

to throw ourſelves into, was not ſo advantageous to our Greek captain, who being known by the captain of the bark for the ſame perſon, of whoſe treachery he had now advertiſed us, we paid him for his trouble, by ſending him to the other world, where he deſigned to have ſent us; after which we went to take the iſland of Tavoga, which had been reinhabited ſince we had left the coaſt of Panama.

From the ſecond at night to the third, we left this iſland, and went to take that of Ottoqua, which is two leagues north and ſouth from it, and which we found peopled again: we made ready on the fourth to go and join our galley, whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the iſle of Sepilla; but we found her in our paſſage with a prize ſhe had taken, being one of the barks that were in the river of Seppa, from whence, in coming out, ſhe had met with an ambuſcade that had killed her two men, and broke the arm of another.

On the fifth we ſaw five ſail between Tavoga and Panama; we preſently bore up to them, and found they were our own ſhips that had given chace to a bark come from Nata, laden with proviſion. The maſter thereof, finding he could not defend it, threw himſelf into the water, and ſwam aſhore, after he had made ſome diſcharges with his ſmall arms upon them: on the ſixth we went with our prizes to anchor at Tavoga, and from thence writ to the preſident of Panama, that, if he would not give up the five Engliſh and French priſoners he had in that place, we would cut off the heads of fifty Spaniards we had in our hands: but, hearing no news of him, on the ſeventh we weighed, and ſailed for the King's Iſlands: we anchored on the ninth to ſtop the leaks of our ſhips, and, while that was doing, we departed with our galley and four canoes for the river Boca del Chica, as well to be informed whether

whether it was true, that the Indians of Sambe had made peace with the Spaniards, as we had been aſſured, as to go and burn all that was built of the town called Terrible upon this fine river, that it might be a defence to a gold mine they had near. We went alſo to fight the hundred men, which the Greek told us lay in wait for thirty of our free-booters that were to paſs into the North-ſea.

On the eleventh we arrived at the mouth of the river Boca del Chica: we lay at anchor there till midnight, when we weighed, and, as the ſea ſwelled, we ſuffered ourſelves to be carried up the river at the pleaſure of the current. About two in the morning our guide, ſtill believing we were far from the place whither he was conducting us, made us put on a pace, which did us great harm, for, inſtead of going to ſurprize others, we were ſurprized ourſelves; for, about a quarter of an hour after, we ſaw fire, but there was no going back now, for the river made a bow, from whence the rapidneſs of the tide coming in threw us, in ſpight of our teeth, upon theſe fires, which we came quickly to know were kindled by thoſe hundred men we were in queſt of, for they preſently aſked us from whence our canoes were bound, and being anſwered by our guide, purſuant to our order, from Panama, they aſked again who was the commander, and we being long in pitching upon a Spaniſh name, they gave us a full volley: but two patereroe-ſhot, which we made at them, having forced them to quit their ground, we paſſed on, and anchored out of the reach of their arms, to wait for the ebb of tide, that we might get out again; for, as we could find no place to go aſhore above them, for the country was full of marſhes, except at the place where they were, we reſolved to take them lower down, and ſo an hour before day-light

light we went back before their intrenchment, after we had put all our men under deck, and fired four patereroe-ſhots, wherewith we ſaluted them ſo opportunely, that we wounded them a great many men, and they made no great firing upon us.

On the twelfth we took a ſmall veſſel upon this river, wherein were three Indians; then we went aſhore, with an intention to attack the Spaniards from behind their intrenchments, which commanded the river only; but they preſently ſent out their periaugue to take ours, which made us expeditiouſly return on board our veſſels to defend them, and to alter the manner of our attack, by reſolving to go to them before their court of guard, at the foot whereof we went aſhore in ſpight of all the fire they made upon us, which laſted not long: for our patereroe and muſket-ſhot killed them a great many men, which made them quickly fly, and leave us their intrenchment, where we found a great many dead and wounded men, and took ſome priſoners, among whom there was one named Alfier: he was an Indian, who, out of a blind zeal he had for the intereſts of the Spaniards, took us for them as we were going on board our canoes, and reproached us highly; but we quickly diſabuſed my gentleman, letting the traitor know, to whom we had before been ſo kind in our paſſage by the ſame river, that we were become his enemies, ſince he was become ours, and then put him out of a condition ever to ſerve the Spaniards, or to injure us.

Thoſe whom we took priſoners informed us, that we were diſcovered at the new town la Terrible, and confirmed the account we had before of the maſſacre of the three parties already mentioned, as well thoſe who would have gone to the South-ſeas, as the other who were minded to return by the way of that river to the north. Within this intrench-

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ment we found a letter written by the preſident of Panama to a camp-maſter that commanded in the town la Terrible, which is as follows:

'When the enemy took la Villia, one of their 'men was taken, who gave us information that 'thirty men were to ſet forth by the way of the 'river Boca del Chica, to return to the North-ſea, 'as believing there was ſtill a good underſtanding 'between them and the Indians. I have ſent you 'three hundred men to defeat thoſe enemies of 'God and goodneſs; be ſure to keep upon your 'guard, be afraid of being ſurprized, and your 'men will infallibly be gainers in defeating of 'them.'

Here it may be ſaid, that the priſoners whom we took were highly uſeful to us, as well by giving us means to ſubſiſt in theſe parts, as to deliver us from a great many ambuſhes and dangers, whereinto, had it not been for them, we muſt have fallen: witneſs this ſame, where the Spaniards would have ſpared our thirty men the pains of going to the North-ſea. At laſt, when we had burnt their court of guard, we took their periaugue, with ſome pounds of gold-duſt we found there, and then went down the river: as for thoſe three Indians whom we took in the boat, we ſent them to tell their comrades that we had killed him who was with the Spaniards, but that we had given them quarter, becauſe they were not amongſt them; and this we did to endeavour to make them kind to us, and ſo diſunite and ſeparate them from the Spaniards.

Being got down on the thirteenth at noon to the mouth of the river, we met with one of our barks, whom we had ordered to come and attend us thither. Thoſe within her told us, that, while they waited there, two Indian periangues, being deceived with the ſight of three or four Spaniſh priſoners

ers whom they had put upon the deck for that purpoſe, came of their own accord, and delivered themſelves up into their hands, with ſome pounds of gold they had found there; and that one of thoſe Indians, who bore great ſway amongſt his own nation, had a commiſſion from the preſident of Panama to arm ſeveral periaugues, and to make war upon us: we weighed that evening to go and join our ſhips that were cruizing between Cape Pin and King's Iſlands, and there we waited for thoſe of the Spaniards, who, we were told, were to come from Lima.

We got on board our ſhips on the ſeventeenth in the morning, and that evening, in our paſſage by the King's Iſlands, anchored to leave our bark there to be careened: our people, during our abſence, had put forty priſoners aſhore upon one of thoſe iſlands, who accidentally happening to meet with ſome canoes, which the Spaniards had hid thereabouts, they made uſe of them to get off, and to go to Panama, to inform the governor of the courſe we were to take, and that the ſhips we had left there were but weakly manned, which induced the preſident to ſend ſome force to attack them: but God was pleaſed ſo to order it, that we were returned with them to the reſt of our company.

On the twentieth we made ready to go to cruize about Tavoga, and that evening anchored before the port of Panama, in order to learn ſome news: we ſaw two ſhips in the road, whither the town canoes went, and came all along without intermiſſion; but, not dreaming they armed them againſt us, we anchored on the twenty-firſt at Tavoga.

On the twenty-firſt by break of day we deſcried three ſail juſt upon us, which we could not diſcover before, becauſe of one of the points of the iſland, which kept them out of our ſight, inſomuch that

one of our ſhips, that had not time to weigh anchor, ſlipped her cable. As ſoon as they ſaw us make ready, they gave us ſome guns, and, as they had the weather-gage, they did not ſpare to make uſe of the advantage they had over us. We made five tacks to get to windward of them, and they could not hinder us; but they loſt the wind for want of reſolution, not daring to paſs between the iſland Tavaguilla and a rock, where there was indeed paſſage for no more than one ſhip, but we ventured it, and at laſt got the weather-gage: we fought them till noon, and knew not on which ſide the advantage lay, and, though they plied our decks very cloſe, we ſtill perſiſted to keep them clear of us, which was the occaſion that they loſt a grand opportunity of mending their tackling. We threw a great many granadoes into their biggeſt ſhip, one of which had ſo good an effect, as to ſet fire to ſome looſe powder they had, which burnt a great many men, and this brought the fight to an end ſooner than otherwiſe could have been expected: for we came up at the ſame time with the ſaid ſhip now all on fire, and boldly boarded her, where, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made from the ſtern, whither they had all retired, we at laſt forced them to beg for quarter, and made ourſelves maſter of the ſhip: at the ſame time one of our barks boarded one of theirs, and took it: the third that was a kind of a galley, who ſtaid to the laſt, before ſhe began to make her eſcape, as truſting to her good ſailing, ſeeing herſelf now purſued by our galley, and two periaugues, ran herſelf aſhore, where ſhe preſently ſtaved to pieces, and but very few of her crew were ſaved.

They had in their little frigate fourſcore men killed and wounded, out of an hundred and twenty that were on board: as for the bark there were no more out of ſeventy, than eighteen unhurt: neither could

could we ſee above ten or a dozen in all that ſwam aſhore from the other veſſel that was ſtaved: all their officers were either killed or wounded, and among others the captain, who received five muſquet-ſhot. He was the ſame perſon who fought ſo ſtoutly at Pueblo Nuevo, where he had received five more, and that had alſo laid an ambuſcade for us at la Villia: but this laſt engagement rid us of him, for he died ſome time after.

While we were buſy in mending the rigging of thoſe ſhips we had taken, and throwing the dead overboard, we diſcovered two ſail more come from Panama, which bore up toward us, whereupon we interrogated our priſoners, in order to know what they ſhould be: they ſaid they did not queſtion but this was the relief they ſent them: at the ſame time we bethought ourſelves of a ſtratagem to amuſe and make them believe we were taken, which was by putting up Spaniſh colours in our own ſhips, and in the prizes, with Engliſh and French ones under them: as ſoon as theſe two ſhips approached, they came up to our ſhip, who received them quite after another manner than they expected; being thus ſurprized, they fired upon us with precipitation, and made off towards the little frigate which they ſuppoſed ſtill to be theirs, who calling to them to lie by, and the others not doing it, they threw ſome granadoes into one of their barks, which ſent her to the bottom, while one of our periaugues boarded the other, wherein they found four packs of cords, but all of the ſame length, which they had made ready to tie us up with: but they reckoned their chickens before they were well hatched, and theſe ropes were the occaſion that no quarter was given to thoſe in the bark where they were found: we afterwards read the commiſſion of the captain of the little frigate, which imported he ſhould chace us as far as St. John's Iſland,

Iſland, and that, when they boarded us, they ſhould ſpare none they found upon deck, but only our ſurgeons, whom they were willing to ſave; and that troops of horſe ſhould march along the ſhore, to take care that none of us made our eſcape to land in any canoe.

On the twenty-third, as we ſailed away to go to anchor at Tavoga, we diſcovered another ſail going back to Panama, whom we chaced and took; ſhe was a ſhallop whom the preſident had ſent to fetch off our anchor, which we had not time to hale up the day before, which he came to know by the means of a canoe, who, paſſing that way, ſaw the buoy. But, for all the fatigues we had undergone in theſe adventures, we could not but ſcoff and laugh at the preſident, who had ſent us ropes to hang his men, and alſo ſent away to take this anchor, wherewith to anchor our ſhip in his port, which he believed his men would bring in: we anchored this evening at Tavoga.

We had but one man killed in all the fight, but there were twenty of us wounded, among whom was captain Townſley, who died moſt of them of their wounds: on the twenty-fourth one of our men died, and the ſame evening we ſent one of our priſoners to the preſident of Panama to carry him a letter, wherein we required his giving up the five Freebooters who were his priſoners, and to ſend us ſome medicines for (as we ſaid) the uſe of his own people, though, in truth, they were for our own; we alſo complained heavily of the little quarter they had given to the three parties whereof I have ſpoken, whom they had inhumanly maſſacred. He ſent to that night the commander of Seppa, who ſpoke a little French, with the following letter.

The preſident of Panama's letter.

'Gentlemen,

'I WONDER that you, who ſhould underſtand how to make war, ſhould require thoſe men of me 'that are in our cuſtody: your raſhneſs hath ſome-'thing contrary in it to the civility wherewith you 'ought to treat thoſe people that were in your 'power: if you do not uſe them well, God will 'perhaps be on our ſide on another occaſion: and, 'as for the little quarter you complain we have 'given, you ſee the contrary by thoſe that have 'been in our hands for ſome time paſt: if you pleaſe 'to put our men you have in your power aſhore, 'we will take care to have them cured of their 'wounds.'

We ordered the ſaid officer to carry him our anſwer by word of mouth, that, if they would not ſend us our priſoners, we would ſend them the heads of all the Spaniards in our poſſeſſion. On the twenty-fifth we weighed anchor, and ſailed away for fear they ſhould, for an anſwer, ſend a fireſhip, as they had done by the Engliſh two years before, and burn us: on the twenty-ſixth in the morning we anchored at the iſles of Pericos, that are not above a league diſtant from Panama. Towards noon we diſcovered a ſhip under ſail, and ſent out our galley to know what ſhe was; it was our own long bark that was come from careening, wherein were ſixty men that were not preſent in the fight. This day two of our wounded men died, though all of them were but ſlightly wounded, which is no matter of wonder, for all the Spaniards bullets were poiſoned.

On the twenty-ſeventh in the morning came one to us from the biſhop (who concerned himſelf much in this

this buſineſs, for he had ſtirred up the preſident to fit out ſhips againſt us) who brought us a letter, which in ſubſtance was the ſame that follows:

The biſhop of Panama's letter.

'Gentlemen,

'THOUGH the preſident of Panama hath writ to you very inconſiderately, I earneſtly deſire 'you to ſhed no more of the innocent blood of 'thoſe that are in your power, all of them having 'been engaged by conſtraint to make war againſt 'you: the preſident obeys the king's orders, who 'forbids him to reſtore any priſoners of war; I 'will do my endeavour to get the men releaſed, 'take my word, and reſt ſatisfied.

'I am to acquaint you that all the Engliſh are 'Roman Catholicks, that there is now a church at 'Jamaica, and that thoſe four that are with us, 'having changed their religion, are willing to live 'amongſt us.'

This we ſaw was only a pretence to detain our men, and this fly refuſal, together with the trouble we were in, for the loſs of thoſe who died continually of their wounds, through the violence of the poiſon that had got into them, forced us, though with reluctancy, to reſolve to ſend twenty of his people's heads to the preſident in a canoe, and ordered him to be told, that if by the twenty-eighth he did not ſend us all our men, we would ſend him the heads of all the reſt of the priſoners. I confeſs this was a violent way of proceeding, but we had no other method left us to bring the Spaniards to reaſon; and we knew them to be a people, who, without we had ſhewed this reſolution, would deſpiſe,

and be ſo much the more bent to ruin us in a ſhort time, by how much the more indifferent we ſhewed ourſelves; for they are uſually no otherwiſe courageous, than when they believe their enemies are of a daſtardly nature.

On the twenty-eighth, betimes in the morning, came a perſon on board, who brought us our five men, whereof four were Engliſh, and the other a French man, together with ſome refreſhments for the wounded men, and a letter to this purpoſe:

The preſident of Panama's letter.

'I SEND you all the priſoners I had in my power, 'and, if there had been more, you ſhould have 'had them delivered: but, as for thoſe that are 'in your cuſtody, I will leave that to be managed 'according to your own honeſty and the practice of 'war.'

Hereupon we ſent him a dozen of the moſt wounded amongſt their men, and writ to him the following letter:

A letter for the preſident of Panama.

HAD you uſed us in this manner when we ſent to you for the releaſement of our five men whom you ſent us, you would have ſaved the lives of thoſe wretches, whoſe heads we have ſent you, and whoſe death you have been the occaſion of: we give you a dozen men by way of exchange, and require twenty thouſand pieces of eight for the ranſom of thoſe that are ſtill behind: but, in default thereof, we ſhall put them out of condition to ſend us poiſoned bullets again; which is ſo manifeſt a contravention of the laws and maxims of

'of a juſt war, that if we were minded to puniſh 'according to the rigour of thoſe rules preſcribed 'thereby, we ſhould not have given one man of 'them quarter.'

Our five men, whom the Spaniards gave up to us, farther confirmed us in the account we had of the maſſacring of the three fore-mentioned parties in the river of Boca del Chica, whereof they themſelves were eye-witneſſes. About twelve a clock of the ſame day, which was the twenty-eighth, we weighed, and anchored again at Tavoga to take in water: and whilſt matters were concluded on between the Spaniards and us, in reſpect to the ranſoming of their people, we required they ſhould come to a treaty with us, which they conſented to, and ſent us daily divers canoes full of merchandize and other refreſhments, all which we had dog-cheap of them, except meal, biſket, meat, and other proviſions which they kept back, the reaſon whereof might be eaſily gueſſed at.

On the twenty-ninth their meſſenger returned, who gave us an account that he had been about the city to get the ranſom, and that they had not got above ſix thouſand pieces of eight together; but, as we were eager to be gone, we told them they muſt ſend us ten thouſand pieces of eight, or elſe we would go into the city to fetch them. The effect of this bluſtering was, that on the firſt of November came a canoe to tell us that a bark would bring us next day the ſum we demanded; and on the ſecond two of our men died.

As we ſaw nothing coming from Panama, we made ready and entered into the port, and when we had hung out our main flag, we fired a gun; they anſwered our ſignal by putting up a white flag upon one of the baſtions of the fort, to give us

notice that the money was not yet ready, which made us put out again, and lie all night at the cape before the mouth of the port. Next day came to us a knight of Malta in a bark, wherein he brought us ten thouſand pieces of eight, and received the priſoners from us. On the fifth we anchored at Ottoqua, in order to victual our ſhips; on the ſeventh two of our men died.

On the eighth, the Indians who had been our guides in our paſſage from the North to the South ſea, and who kept cloſe with us ever ſince, were taken or murdered by the Spaniards upon this iſland of Ottoqua, in revenge for the ſervice they had done us: on the eighth in the morning we put fifty men aſhore, to ſee if they could find the place whereunto the Spaniards had withdrawn themſelves, whom we could not find in their habitations, that we might know what they had done with thoſe Indians; but we could find nothing, ſave their money and baggage, which they had hid in a vault.

The ſame day at noon captain Townſley died of his wounds: we threw his body into the ſea, according to his deſire, with ſuch ceremonies as are uſual upon theſe occaſions: on the tenth we weighed, and came to an anchor at King's Iſlands, and two days after died one of our wounded men. On the ſeventeenth we put out with the little frigate and long bark, to ſail to the port of Panama, to ſee whether they had any ſhips there that might come to inſult us, while our veſſels were a careening. We had a N. W. wind, ſo that we could not reach the iſles of Pericos before the tenth, when we found ourſelves under the forts of that town. We furled our low ſails, and, as the Spaniards ſaw us bring to, they gave us three guns, after they put up Burgundian colours upon the windward baſtion: but when we underſtood there was no ſhip in that place

whereof we might be afraid, we went out a cruizing between Tavoga and Sippilla, we being reſolved to watch thoſe two ſhips that were to come from Lima, and in the mean time we ſent one of our periaugues to bid our men careen the veſſels with all expedition, and that they need fear no danger from Panama We had very bad weather in this channel; it blew round all the points of the compaſs with ſuch violent whirlwinds, that the ſea grew very boiſterous: but, on the twenty-eighth, the weather proving more moderate, we diſcovered a ſhip ſailing all along the coaſt of the main land, after which we ſent two periaugues in chace: ſhe would have entered into the port of Panama, but they firing upon her from the fort, as believing ſhe was one of our ſhips, ſhe paſſed by, and our periaugues took her: ſhe came from Nato, and was laden with proviſions and ſugars, which ſhe was carrying to our enemies, who had the charity to put her back to us.

On the eleventh, being not able to ſee any thing of what we waited for, we ſailed for the King's Iſlands, and, as the moon ſhone bright, we found the currents very ſtrong there alſo, which obliged us to anchor in the channel, with all the tides contrary to us, from twenty to forty fathom water: we arrived on the ſixteenth at the iſland where our ſhips were careening, and found them all ready done.

The ſea round about theſe King's Iſlands, whereof I have ſpoken ſo much, is full of a great many very large whales, who are infeſted by a fiſh they call eſpadon, that aſſaults them continually with a kind of fiſh-bone, like unto a ſabre, faſtened to their heads; and this makes thoſe monſtrous animals to give ſuch leaps and rebounds, that they raiſe themſelves continually above the water: but to return from a great fiſh to a ſmall one, I ſhall ſay, that, beſides pearl-oyſters, which are to be found in thoſe

parts in great numbers, there are alſo others that are exceeding good, and ſo large that they are forced to cut them into four parts to eat them, and they are, when roaſted, exceeding white.

We departed on the eighteenth, and ſailed for thoſe iſlands that are in the main, where we came to an anchor on the nineteenth in the morning, and on the twentieth put out with our galley and two periaugues to go to a ſugar-plantation which ſtands two leagues to leeward of Panama, giving orders at the ſame time to our ſhips to come and anchor there three days after us. We poſſeſſed ourſelves of the ſaid plantation, and ſeized all the people belonging thereto, who told us there was a courier come from Chiriquita to Panama, who reported he had ſeen two ſhips, and as many barks, belonging to the Free-booters, anchor at the port of that town, who came for proviſion there, wherewith we were ſomewhat ſurprized, and could hardly believe thoſe Free-booters would have left ſo good a coaſt as that of Peru was (whither we knew they were gone) to come thither, which is much worſe; which difference ariſes from no other than the abundance and quality of the proviſions that the former produceth, whereof I ſhall give you an account hereafter: we were alſo informed by theſe priſoners, as it was very true, that a galley, which we knew well enough was in building at Panama, was finiſhed, that ſhe carried fifty-two oars, five pieces of cannon, and forty patereroes; that there were, what with thoſe come from Carthagena and Porto Bello, five hundred men come to go on board her and two periaugues, and that they watched the opportunity of our paſſing before their port, as we had uſed to do, to the end they might put out in the night, and ſurprize us during the abſence of our other ſhips, whom they ſuppoſed to be ſtill a careening. On the twenty-fourth we anchored

at

at Ottoqua, to gather mace and rice that were ſtill ſtanding on the ground; and next day being apprehenſive, according to the report of our priſoners, that there might be free-booters at Chiriquita, we ſent a bark thither, to give them notice, if ſhe found it to be really ſo, that we would come up to them as ſoon as we had taken in ſome proviſions along the coaſt: we put nineteen priſoners on the twenty-ninth aſhore, and made ready to depart with an eaſterly wind: we were got, on the thirtieth in the morning, over-againſt the bay of La Villia; we ſtraitened our round top, being afraid to come by it: we embarked in the evening on our canoes, and on the thirty-firſt at midnight went aſhore. We were quickly diſcovered by a party that went the rounds, which made us uſe all the diligence imaginable in order to get into the town, before they had time to make themſelves ready: but our guide having led us out of the way, another party making the round paſſed by, who no ſooner ſaw us, but they made all the haſte they could to get away, yet we fired upon them preſently, which diſmounted three of them, and one we took priſoner, who told us we were ſtill three leagues diſtant from La Villia, and that we were gone out of our way, that all the people there were at their arms, and that they had had a reinforcement of ſix hundred men ſent them from Panama. Upon this information we ſtopped ſhort, and were forced to return back again, becauſe we knew very well that we were diſcovered, and that ſo we loſt all our labour. Before we went on board, we went to eat to an Eſtantia that was half a league off from the ſea-ſide, from whence the Spaniards brought us back, by charging our rear from time to time, till that we had rejoined our canoes, whereon when we had reimbarked, we found ourſelves ſo weary and fatigued, that we deferred till next day to go and join our ſhip; and this being

perceived by the Spaniards, they fired ſo furiouſly upon us, that we were conſtrained to go and lie at anchor farther from the ſhore.

On the ſecond of November we rejoined our ſhips that were cruizing in that bay. In the evening we anchored between the iſland of Iguana and the continent over-againſt ſome hatto's we ſaw there, with a deſign to go and ſee for ſome proviſion; to which end we went aſhore on the third at noon, where we found the Spaniards got together, with whom we fought for half an hour; they killed us one man, and wounded another: but they could not hinder us to go to the next hatto, where we found no ſort of cattle, for the Spaniards had carried away and drove them before them; here we lay this night; but the Spaniards being unwilling to let us have any reſt, we were forced at midnight to march out againſt them, and made them quit the field to us.

On the fourth we returned on board our veſſels, having brought only ſome little refreſhments along with us to our wounded men; and that evening ſailed away with a weſt wind, keeping out to ſea to the fifth at noon, when we returned to land; at midnight we ſteered S. S. E. as near the wind as we could till the ſixth, that we were brought back to the ſhore; about the middle of the following night we diſcovered a veſſel under ſail, and joined her: it was the bark that we had ſent to Chiriquita, who meeting with very bad weather, was conſtrained to put back under the morn or cape of Puercos. On the ſeventh, being not able to double the morn, becauſe of the contrary weſt winds, we ſent our galley to Chiriquita, inſtead of our bark; we could not double the morn bfore the twelfth: and we had a blaſt of wind on the night, that, in itſelf, was favourable enough for our courſe, but the currents carried us ſo to leeward, that we were ſtill on the

this ſide

thirteenth ſix leagues to leeward of the morn We ſteered W. N. W. bearing upon the Iſle of Tygers, the which ſtands ſix leagues N. and S. from the continent, between the river of St. James and this [redacted] or cape of Puercos: on the fourteenth at night we were apprehenſive, leſt we ſhould be drove too near the ſhore.

On the ſixteenth we arrived at St. John's iſland, where we met with our galley returned from Chiriquita, having found nothing of what ſhe ſought for in that place; which ſtill increaſed the ſuſpicion we had already entertained, that the preſident of Panama had cauſed a falſe report to be ſpread abroad, that ſome free-booters had been there, that ſo he might get us to quit his port, and make way, by our abſence, for thoſe ſhips that were expected from Peru to enter into Panama; and this ſo much the more heightened our courage, in that we came to underſtand, one day after another, the cowardice and daſtardly nature of this proud nation, who, with her three-decked ſhips, mounted each of them with eighteen pieces of cannon, and having four hundred men on board, were afraid of pitiful barks, who had but four guns and ſome patereroes in all, with which, however, we waited for them.

On the eighteenth we brought our gallies and canoes aſhore, in order to clean them; two days after we departed, with an intention to take ſome priſoners, from whom we might obtain certain intelligence of the truth or falſhood of any free-booters having been at Chiriquita, for they might have been gone before we had ſent thither, and, upon our departure, we appointed our ſhips to rendezvous at the Iſle of St. Peter, there to tarry till we returned. On the morning of the twenty-fourth we went aſhore two leagues to the leeward of the river Pueblo Nuevo, where, after we had travelled till about four in the

afternoon, to diſcover ſome houſes, we ſaw two horſemen, one of whom we diſmounted, but he made his eſcape, and took the other, of whom we aſked where we were; and being informed that there was, about half a league from thence, a borough called St. Lorenzo, we went that way, and arrived there in the twilight: here we took a great many priſoners, who told us they had heard of no free-booters from the time we had taken Chiriquita, which now fully confirmed us in a belief of the amuſement the preſident of Panama had entertained us with: on the twenty-ſixth we returned to the ſea-ſide with our priſoners, and diſcovered our ſhips that were ſailing to the place of rendezvous, to whom we ſent a canoe, to give them notice to come and anchor at an iſland which is over-againſt, and three quarters of a league diſtant from the port of St. Lorenzo.

This borough ſtands a league and a half within land, and is, in my opinion, no more than a village; it is inhabited partly with Spaniards, and partly Indians, who, as I have already ſaid, have been reduced by degrees, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Spaniards: it is a very open country, and a man is ſo far from being ſure of what place he is in, that he would believe himſelf to be at Chiriquita, when here, ſo like is the one to the other, as well in reſpect to the borough and places adjacent, as for the courſe and diſpoſition of the rivers wherewith it is watered.

On the twenty-ſixth in the evening we went on board our ſhips with our priſoners, and agreed with them upon what quantity of proviſion they were to give us for their ranſom; on the twenty-ſeventh we ſent the father or curate of the place aſhore, to diſpatch the ſending of it: on the twenty-eighth the Engliſh, who made part of our fleet, deſired us to come together, in

order to make a diviſion of the ſhips and artillery we had taken, as being deſirous to be in a ſhip by themſelves, which was preſently done. On the firſt of December we ſent a canoe to the continent, and the men that were in her told us, they had ſeen a troop of horſe who threatened them at a diſtance with their cutlaſſes, which made us at night, to the number of a hundred men, go aſhore to ſee them: on the ſecond we waited for them in their town of St. Lorenzo, but, no body appearing, we burnt it. As ſoon as the Spaniards ſaw the fire, the commander of the place came to offer us a ſum of money for the ranſom of the priſoners, which we refuſed, becauſe we had much more need of proviſion: we told them, if they did not ſend us the ſame, purſuant to the agreement we had already made with their people, they ſhould have no more to do than to ſend for their heads away from the iſland. In the ſaid commander's houſe we found the following letter writ by the tenient of Chiriquita:

A letter from the tenient of Chiriquita to the commander of the town of St. Lorenzo.

'SIR,

'I HAVE ſent you, by way of reinforcement, all 'the men which I could get together: uſe your 'endeavours to take one or other of the enemy, to 'the end we may know what they deſign to do, 'about which our generals are mightily concerned: 'order the cattle to be drove away from the ſea-ſide, 'and put them into a place fit to lay an ambuſcade, 'to the end that the enemy, ſevering from one ano'ther, according to their uſual manner, in order to 'kill them, it may be ſo much the more eaſy for 'you to ſecure ſome one of them: but, if you 'cannot do that, lay an ambuſcade at a place where

'you

'you think they will put our priſoners aſhore, and 'let them ſhew you thoſe perſons whom they have 'obſerved to be moſt reſpected on ſhip-board; ſo 'that, if God gives us the advantage over them, 'do not you cut them off, but ſend them to me; 'eſpecially interrogate the women, that you may 'know whether they have met with ſome weak fel-'low that hath made any diſcovery unto them.'

This letter made us keep more upon our guard than otherwiſe we would have done, and we returned on board our ſhip that evening: on the third we went in a canoe aſhore, to ſee whether they had brought the proviſion agreed upon for the ranſom of their people, but, inſtead of that, we ſaw them buſy in raiſing an intrenchment near the place where they expected we ſhould make our deſcent, which gave us to underſtand they purſued the orders preſcribed to them by the foreſaid letter. On the fourth we put thoſe priſoners aſhore upon the iſland where we had anchored, and left them there, without any further expecting of their ranſom, that ſo we might ſecure ourſelves againſt that ambuſcade whereinto we muſt have fallen, had we ſent them to the ſame place where we took them.

In the evening we weighed and ſailed for the bay of Boca del Toro, with an eaſterly breeze that put us forward: on the fifth we doubled the point of Porica, which is ten leagues to leeward of that bay; at the height whereof we were becalmed till the tenth; when, towards evening, a ſmall wind blowing from the ſea aroſe, which brought us to the mouth of the bay: but the ſame was followed by ſo terrible a tempeſt, that our ſhip lay for an hour in ſuch a manner, that ſhe was under water as far as her great ſcuttle; and what amazed us was, that our ropes, ſheets, and clulings were cut ſo cleverly

as if the ſame had been done with an hatchet: however, this tearing of our rigging ſerved us in good ſtead, for, had it not been for that, we had quickly gone to be meat for fiſhes; for our ſails, being held by no other than the wind and arms alone, the ſail-yards, yet ſtretched themſelves out along the maſts, and our ſhip, by little and little, happily recovered herſelf: the wind was allayed in the duſk of the evening by a great deal of rain that fell, wherewith we were becalmed; and on the eleventh we had a ſoutherly wind, which brought us to an anchor in the bottom of the bay.

The mouth of this bay of Boca del Toro is about four or five leagues in extent from one point to another, and eight in depth. If you would enter into it with ſafety, you muſt keep the whip of your rudder to ſtarboard, becauſe it is dangerous to keep to the eaſt ſide. Here is good anchorage every-where, and alſo a covert; one may anchor in the bottom of the bay within piſtol ſhot of land.

There are four iſlands contained in it, that ſtand very near unto the main land to the eaſt and north-eaſt; but it is not ſafe to lie near them, becauſe of the many rocks that are there. Several fine rivers diſcharge themſelves into it, and lead us up them to divers Indian carbets, who have neither peace, nor are in amity with any people whatſoever, no more than thoſe whom I have mentioned when I ſpoke of cape la Vella and Boca del Drago; which yet does not hinder the Spaniards from paſſing their caravans through the midſt of their country, when they come from Coſta Rica to Panama: but then they muſt be very well guarded; and the great road, through which they paſs, is not above ſix leagues from the ſea-ſide.

On the twelfth we went to find out trees fit both to make canoes of for carrying our water, and canoes of

of war: on the twenty-fifth, being Chriſtmas-day, after we had, according to cuſtom, ſaid our prayers in the night, one of our quarter-maſters being gone aſhore, in order to take care about our eating ſome victuals (for our ſhips being a careening, all our provi-ſions were then put out) one of our priſoners, who ſerved us as cook, ſtabbed him with a knife in ſix ſeveral places, wherewith crying out, he was preſently relieved, and the aſſaſſin puniſhed with death.

CHAP. IV.

The Free-booters voyage to the South-ſeas in 1687.

ON the firſt of January, 1687, our canoes being ready, we left this bay and ſailed for that of Caldaira, that we might victual there, and make an end of careening our ſhips: we left them there on the ſecond, after we had given orders to thoſe who had the charge of them, to come and join us in the bay, and we embarked two hundred men in our canoes, to croſs over to la Cagna, which is a ſmall iſland very inconvenient to draw near to, and ſtands about a league north and ſouth from the main land, between Boca del Toro and Caldaira. We were ſix days in our paſſage before we could get thither, having only put forward in the night, for fear of being diſcovered: being come on the ſixth at night into the bay, our guide made us put in under a covert, and told us that, to prevent our being diſcovered, we ſhould go aſhore in that place; which we had no ſooner done, but we were conducted into a mariſh, in the ſoundeſt places whereof we ſunk in the mud to the very middle, inſomuch that five of our men, of whom we could ſee no more than their heads, did not give us a ſmall trouble to pull them out with cords we made faſt to mangles, which are trees of

that name growing in this mariſh: ſo that, not knowing how we ſhould be able to free ourſelves from this wretched place, we lifted up our guide to the top of a tree, to endeavour, by the help of moonlight, to diſcover how far we might be from ſound land: but he, finding himſelf now at liberty, ſkipped like a monkey from tree to tree, and railed all the while at us, who could neither ſee him, nor do any more than threaten him, which I believe he little mattered. We ſpent the reſt of the night in making about an hundred ſteps in this ſweet place, where we exactly went the rounds, and from whence we could not come out till break of day, and not then neither, without being bedaubed all over from top to toe, and having our arms laden with mud. When we were in a condition to reflect a little upon ourſelves, and that we ſaw two hundred men in the ſame habit, and ſo curiouſly equipped, there was not one of us who forgot not his toil, to laugh at the poſture he found both himſelf and the reſt in. At length, after having inveighed againſt our guide who had ſo cunningly ſaved himſelf when he ſaw us ſtuck faſt in the mire, we went into our canoes again, where we cleaned ourſelves as well as we could, as we did alſo our arms, and, after having left our covert, we met with a very pretty river, whereinto we entered, and went up it about two leagues, where we landed at an intrenchment. There we found the remains of the two ſhips which the Spaniards had burnt, when an Engliſh free-booter, whoſe name was Bethlarp, came to careen in this bay, which made us ſuppoſe, according to the relation that had been given us concerning it, that it was the embarking place belonging to Nicoya. We followed the road we found there, and marching about two leagues, at the end of them we entered, by the help of the barking

ing of the dogs, into a borough called Sancta Catalina, where we took all the inhabitants priſoners. Now as we were informed by them there, that there was no more than three leagues to Nicoya, we mounted ſixty men on horſeback, in order to go thither; but we met half way with horſemen, whom we could not reach, and who, returning back with full ſpeed, gave the inhabitants notice of our march towards them, inſomuch that, by the time we got thither, they had already hid all their effects, and were expecting our coming upon the place of arms, from whence we drove them, after we had ſuſtained their firſt diſcharge, with which they neither killed nor wounded one of our men. While we were gathering what proviſion we could together, we ſent out ſmall parties into the neighbouring places, who brought us ſome money, and, among other things, the governor's plate and all his moveables.

On the eighth we left the town, and went to rejoin our people at Sancta Catalina, where we ſtaid the remainder of that day: at night came two of the enemy's centinels thither, one of whom we killed; for they, not knowing we were in the town, were come to give the Spaniards notice that they ſaw three ſail of ſhips enter into the bay, and that they were enemies: but this intelligence came too late. On the ninth we left this place to go join our canoes again, on which being embarked, we left one of our priſoners aſhore to go and raiſe the ranſom of thoſe we carried along with us; and, on the tenth, we got on board our ſhips that lay at anchor in the bay. We had found among the governor of Nicoya's papers three letters, which were theſe that follow.

The governor, or general of the province of Coſta Rica his letter to the preſident of Panama, dated May 2d, 1686.

'SIR,

'THIS letter is to let you know of the taking of 'our dear town of Granada by pirates on 'the tenth of the laſt month: they came aſhore at a 'place where we had no centinels, we ſuppoſing 'there was no occaſion for it, becauſe the ſea is ſo 'high there; they paſſed on croſs a wood like ſo 'many wild beaſts: we had the good fortune to 'have notice of it by our fiſhermen, though we 'were already upon our guard ever ſince the news 'we had concerning them from Leſparſo and Ni-'coya. They lay on the ninth at the fine houſe of 'don Diego Ravalo, knight of St. James; we were 'very well prepared to receive them, but the way 'of fighting practiſed by theſe men did ſo much 'aſtoniſh ours, that we could not make that reſiſt-'ance we had promiſed ourſelves we ſhould do. 'They fell on briſkly, ſinging and dancing, as if 'they had been going to a feaſt; at length, after 'we had been fought bravely by them, they won 'the place of arms, with the loſs of thirty of their 'men, according to the eſtimate of don Antonio 'de Fortuna, a perſon of good experience in war, 'who came to us ſome months before. We are 'alſo of opinion that they have loſt their general, 'for we ſaw a man, that diſtinguiſhed himſelf from 'the reſt by his habit, fall.

'After they had ſtaid for the ſpace of four days 'in our fort, they ſent to require us to ranſom the 'town and priſoners they had taken; but, we be-'ing not very forward to return an anſwer to their 'propoſal, they burnt it, and went their ways.

Sciguior

'Seignior don John de Caſtilla, ſerjeant-major, 'went out to obſerve them with his men; but, not 'knowing they took away our artillery, he attacked 'theſe enemies of God and goodneſs about a mile 'from the town; but they, being reſolved to make 'their way through, or to die upon the ſpot, ſlew 'ſo great a number of his men, that the reſt fled, 'and left their commander alone.

'We have taken one of their men, who told us 'they came to our province upon no other deſign 'than to know the ſtrength of it, though it is not 'to be doubted, if they had found our veſſels at 'anchor, but they would have made uſe of them 'to paſs by the way of our lake, to the North-ſea, 'and have abandoned their comrades, who looked 'after their ſhips, and their way would have been 'infallibly by Carthage. Monſieur, the governor, 'takes his meaſures thereupon, and continues to for-'tify his retrenchment. I ſhall give you a more 'ample account of this buſineſs by the firſt ca-'ravan.'

The preſident of Panama's letter to the governor of Coſta Rica.

'SIR,

'THIS is to give you notice of the advices I have 'received from Carthagena, by the way of 'Puerto Bello. The king of France, ſuppoſing 'he had received ſome affront from our nation, ſent 'eighty ſail of all ſorts before Calix, to demand 'contribution; and, ſeeing there was ſo vaſt an in-'equality of force upon this occaſion, we agreed to 'give him half a million to withdraw his ſhips, 'and return to their ports.

'You know that my lord biſhop, on the twenty-'ſecond of Auguſt, forced me to ſend out three

ſhips

ſhips to fight the pirates, that continued ſtill before our port, and took all the barks and canoes that were coming on. Our ſhips ſurprized them at break of day, which made one of the pirates ſlip his cable; and this was done, not for to fly away, but through the ſkill of the commander. I ſaw the flight from my ramparts, the honour whereof I thought infallibly to have appertained unto us. Having ſeen them draw near the ſhore, I ſent a ſhallop to bring away the anchor of that veſſel that had ſlipped her cable, in order to faſten her in our port. As ſoon as ever I ſaw them ungrappled, I diſpatched away two long barks, or gallies, to go and learn the news, and to bring thoſe of the enemy that ſurvived before me, though my orders were, that no quarter ſhould be given to any that were found upon deck, to the end we might rid the world of theſe enemies of God and his Saints, who prophane his churches and deſtroy his ſervants. In the evening they ſent one of our men to require me to give up five men of theirs, that I had priſoners in my town, and, as my prince forbad me to do ſo, I refuſed it: but theſe new Turks ſent me twenty heads, and I bethought myſelf, that, for the preventing of the ſlaughter of ſo many Chriſtians, I ought to ſend them their men, with ten thouſand pieces of eight, for the ranſom of ninety of our people, that were almoſt all wounded, which they ſent us, out of three hundred and thirty they had taken with them. Thus you ſee how God is pleaſed to afflict us on all ſides, let us take all for the ſake of his ſufferings for us."

The tenient of Sanſonat's letter to the preſident of Panama.

'CAptain Francis Grognet is ſeparated from his 'fleet at Realeguo, and gone aſhore with an 'hundred and fifty men upon the iſles of Napalla: 'we took three of their men, who told us, that 'thoſe of them, that were gone up towards Pa-'nama, had a deſign to return to the North-ſea. 'The peace we have made with the Indians will do 'us more hurt than good: we were concerned, at 'leaſt, to obſerve their motion, and ſtop at that paſ-'ſage. Thoſe people, ſeeing no place whereunto 'to retire, became as ſo many enraged dogs: we 'had no need of that, for wherever theſe irreligious 'wretches ſet their feet on land, they always win 'the victory. If you pleaſe, let them have free 'paſſage, that we may be at reſt; they came ten or 'a dozen times aſhore, without knowing what they 'wanted. Send us a man who underſtands the way 'of ſea-fighting, for I am of opinion they will never 'be able to get off from theſe iſlands, and ſo it 'will be convenient to go and take them there.'

On the twelfth, as we ſaw no ranſom come, we ſet out to go ourſelves to Nicoya to fetch it, where we arrived next day; we ſent out ſeveral parties alſo in ſearch of ſome victuals, which the people had hid, and ſent one to treat with them about the ranſoming of their town. The tenient told us the governor was gone for relief to Coſta Rica, and that he had no orders to pay any ranſom, farther than what had been agreed on for the priſoners, which was all ready, and that he would not have us be impatient, if we received not the ſame as ſoon as we deſired it, becauſe they having no canoes whereby

to

to ſend the money to us by ſea; which might have been done in half a day's time (the paſſage was ſo ſhort that way) had been obliged to have it carried on mules backs by land, which was four days journey. When we had received this anſwer, we ſent again to tell him that our intention was to have been gone next day; but that, however, ſeeing he waited in expectation of ſuccours, we would wait alſo; but, at length, growing impatient that things were ſo long retarded, we went our ways on the ſeventeenth.

Two days after, being the nineteenth, they came to the ſea-ſide, over-againſt the place where our veſſels lay at anchor, and brought us the ranſom they had promiſed for the priſoners, whom we ſent aſhore at the ſame time. We gave them a letter which we writ to the governor, wherein we ſent him word, if he would let us know when his reinforcement came, we ſhould not fail to attend him and that, in the mean time, if he did not ſend us ſo many horſe-load of biſcuit and mace, as we required of him, for the ranſom of the town, he might aſſure himſelf we ſhould go and burn it.

On the twentieth we weighed anchor, and went to one of the iſlands in this bay to careen our veſſels. On the twenty-ſecond we went off in our canoe, leaving no more men with our ſhips than were neceſſary to careen them, and ſought out ſome hatto's, where we might get neceſſary ſubſiſtence, to the end we might lay by, and keep in ſtore thoſe proviſions we had got together on board, and whereof we ſhould have occaſion in the execution of an enterprize we had formed upon the town of Queaquilla. On the twenty-ſecond, at night, we went aſhore at Caldaira, where we were diſcovered by the centinels, who, as they made their eſcapes, ſet fire unto the Savanas, in order to ſtop our paſſage; however, this did not hinder

hinder us to reach the little town of Leſparſo, which had been almoſt intirely abandoned ſince the time of our being there before.

On the twenty-third we had the curioſity, or rather humour, to purſue the firſt road that offered itſelf to our view at our departure; and, after we had marched about a league on, we diſcovered about two hundred horſe upon our flank and in our rear: a Spaniard, who was advanced before the reſt, made a thouſand mouths at us, and reviled us as much, which gave us an occaſion to hide five of our men that were behind the reſt, in the graſs, that was exceeding high upon both ſides of the way, and leave our main body to march on; ſo that when our Spaniard, who ſtill followed our people, went to paſs forwards, he was quickly diſmounted, and we made him make a grimace in good earneſt: we queſtioned him according to our uſual ceremony, that is to ſay, by putting him on the rack, about the place where we were: he told us we were on the highway of Carthage, and that all places were quite forſaken from thence to this town, which was no leſs than twenty-ſeven leagues, out of an apprehenſion his country had, leſt we ſhould go and force them to grant us paſſage to the North-ſea, as their chief officers had cauſed it to be reported among them. He alſo gave us information, that they had four hundred men making their rounds, whereof the two hundred we ſaw were of that number, being detached to obſerve the time of our landing, that ſo they might retire to a ſtrong retrenchment they had ſix leagues on this ſide the town, for to beat us back, in caſe we made that way. Being thus pre-admoniſhed, we thought it not convenient to go any further, our deſign being no other than to know the country, and to get us ſome victuals; ſo we returned to Leſparſo, and on the twenty-fourth rejoined our canoes.

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On the twenty-ſixth we went aſhore, under the guidance of our new priſoner, who brought us to a ſugar-plantation, where we divided into two companies to go to two hatto's, and took all the people we could meet with there, who informed us, that ſeveral other hatto's, and ſugar-plantations in the neighbourhood, had all together ſet out two hundred armed men, who were gone in the evening to beat back the crew of three of the enemy's canoes that had landed at Colebra, where they had killed and wounded divers Spaniards. We preſently imagined it muſt have been captain Grognet that was come up that coaſt, and therein we were not miſtaken; we immediately returned back to the ſea-ſide, to go with our canoes to meet him, and in our way heard the noiſe of ſeveral cannon-ſhot and ſmall arms, towards the place where we had left our ſhip careening, which made us double our pace, and reimbark in our canoes.

As ſoon as we were got on board our ſhips, we found captain Grognet, with three canoes there, who, with his crew, had been conducted to the ſaid place by one of our canoes, whom they had fortunately met in croſſing this bay; and the firing we had heard was made by the one and the other, for joy of their meeting together.

Grognet told us, that he came up this coaſt with an intention to find out an uninhabited place, to the end he might land without oppoſition, and to fetch a compaſs croſs the country to get to the North-ſea. We laid the danger whereunto he muſt neceſſarily expoſe ſo ſmall a number of men before him (they being no more than ſixty in all) that if he were reſolved to undertake ſo dangerous an enterprize, it were better he would ſtay with us until we found a favourable opportunity to repaſs together to that ſea, as being better able conjointly to ſurmount thoſe dif-

ficulties which we might be expoſed to thereby. Being overcome with our reaſons, he ſtaid with us; and after we had given him an account of the adventures we had had ſince our ſeparation from him, he alſo, in his turn, entertained us with a recital of his, and told us, he had made ſeveral deſcents in the bay of Napalla with various ſucceſs, and that, among other things, in one of thoſe deſcents, the Spaniards had taken three of his men, who had been exchanged ſome time after for other priſoners. But that the Spaniards had ſo far corrupted thoſe three men with the fine promiſes they made them, while they were in their cuſtody, that, upon their return, they inſinuated into their comrades, in order to betray them, a deſign of going to a very conſiderable gold mine, which was fourteen leagues off from the ſea-ſide, and as many from Tinſigal, and that, being prepoſſeſſed of making their fortunes there, they had left the iſland where they were, to the number of an hundred and twelve men, and went aſhore upon the continent, with an intention to go to that mine, under the guidance of the priſoners, who knew the way, and towards which they journied only in the night-time, for fear of being diſcovered; that thoſe three men who had been exchanged, and ſold their friends to the Spaniards, pretended they were weary, and had occaſion to reſt, that ſo they might not go with the reſt; that, for all this, they departed two hours after, bringing to the Spaniards (who waited in a convenient place for them) all the priſoners that were aſhore in the ſaid bay, and, after ſome time, carried off the arms and ammunition of all the reſt of our company that ſtaid behind upon the iſland, who had no miſtruſt of them, whereof they laded a canoe; but that the treachery, in the mean time, had not had all the projected effect; and that he and his men got to the mine without oppoſition, becauſe

cauſe the Spaniards, who had made all things ready for maſſacring of them, when going aſhore, got thither later than they ſhould have done, and that through the fault of our renegadoes, who had too much precipitated the departure of their comrades, whom they thus ſaved by preſſing them on to their ruin: that they had got no great purchaſe at the mines, becauſe there had been orders given before for ſaving their treaſure; though, after all, it was not above an hour's ſpace that they had got away four hundred and fifty pounds of gold, that was already prepared. That yet they found ſome pounds ſtill left, and took ſome priſoners, who were ſurprized by them, as not expecting their company ſo ſoon, and that they alſo did believe they had been defeated by the way, as the deſign had been formed againſt them.

That when they had ſtaid two days at this mine, and being intent upon returning with his men to the ſea-ſide, he met with a body of Spaniards on the way, waiting for his coming, and making a mean, as if they would, now upon his return, make amends for the fault they had committed, in not preventing his deſcent. Their commander ſent a trumpet to captain Grognet, to know if he were minded to fight, who being anſwered, that he deſired nothing more: the Spaniards ſent a ſecond time to tell him, that if he would give up his priſoners, that they would grant him free paſſage; but he boldly anſwered, That, if they deſired to have them, they muſt come and fetch them by the help of their arms; and, as for the paſſage, he would open his way through in ſpight of them. That, having made themſelves ready, the Spaniards had not the courage to ſtay for them, contenting themſelves only with firing a few muſquets at a diſtance, and ſo fairly took to their heels, while he purſued his march towards his canoes,

which had, as good luck would have it, been left in a place where the renegadoes could not ſhew them to the enemy.

He told us moreover, that, ſome time after his return from that mine, they had been at Pueblo Viego, by the way of a river that runs not above four leagues, and diſcharges herſelf into the bay of Napalla; that they had ſurprized the town, and that, after having reſted there for ſome days, as they were coming back to rejoin their canoes, they had met with an ambuſcade laid for them under the covert of a retrenchment, guarded by ſix hundred men out of the garriſon of Realeguo, which began to be inhabited again, with whom they had fought a long time: but, finding the Spaniards ſtood to it more tightly than ordinary, they threw themſelves into their retrenchment, where, killing all about them that made any reſiſtance, they wrought a great ſlaughter amongſt them; that one part of them continued priſoners, while the other fled without any more ado, and forſook their retrenchments as well as the three colours they had ſet up there: that the free-booters had loſt no more than three men, but that the Spaniards in the heat of the action killed ſeveral priſoners of the one and the other ſex, which the other had brought away from the town, who after this went on board their veſſels: that ſome months after, not concurring with a deſign which fourſcore-and-five of his men had taken, of going down towards the iſles of Calynfornia, he had reſolved with the ſixty that remained with him to go up towards Panama, where happening, as I have told you, to meet us, we gave both him and his men room in our ſhips, where we learned this whole relation from them.

On the thirtieth we quitted our ſhips, and went in our canoes into ſeveral rivers which diſcharge themſelves

themſelves into this bay of Caldaira; and, amongſt the reſt, into a very fine one, whereon we went up ten leagues, in all which ſpace we always found her of the ſame depth and breadth. Several Spaniards told us, that, a matter of forty or fifty leagues higher, there was a mountain, from whence ariſes the ſpring of this river; and, on the other ſide of the ſame mountain, ariſes alſo a ſpring, from which runs the river St. John, that diſcharges itſelf into the North-ſea at the White Point.

We took a large canoe, laden with tallow, in this river, which ſome time after was of great uſe to us, by way of food, as we went to Queaquilla: we alſo found ſome hatto's on this river's ſide, where we refreſhed ourſelves till the ſixth of February, when we returned on board our ſhips. On the twelfth we departed, in order to go the third time and viſit Nicoya; we arrived there next day in the evening, and preſently detached ſeveral parties to get us intelligence concerning the Spaniards, who never appeared ſince they had threatened us with their ſuccours, inſtead of the ranſom we required of them for ſaving their town, which they ſtill refuſing to ſatisfy us for, we burnt it this third time, and, on the ſeventeenth, went our ways.

But though we were forced to chaſtiſe the Spaniards in this manner, we ſhewed ourſelves very exact in the preſervation of the churches, into which we carried the pictures and images of the ſaints which we found in particular houſes, that they might not be expoſed to the rage and burning of the Engliſh, who were not much pleaſed with theſe ſorts of precautions; they being men that took more ſatisfaction and pleaſure to ſee one church burnt, than all the houſes of America put together. But, as it was our turn now to be the ſtronger party, they durſt do nothing that derogated from that reſpect we bore to all thoſe things.

Nicoya was a ſmall town, pleaſant enough taken altogether; its churches are very fine, and the houſes as ill built; they have a pretty river there, that runs about one half of the town round; but, when one is within, you cannot know which way it is you have entered, nor how to go out, becauſe of the height of the mountains wherewith it is ſurrounded every way.

We were no ſooner gone from this town, but the Spaniards ſent to ſet fire to the roads through which we were to paſs, which yet we happily eſcaped, becauſe they had but juſt begun to do it: we took one of their men who was hemmed in between us and the five, and who conducted us to ſeveral Eſtanzia's, from which we did not return before the twentieth. And on the twenty-ſecond we put forty priſoners aſhore, who were too chargeable to be kept on board with us.

Some men perhaps may be amazed at what I have ſaid concerning the burning of the roads, but they would be much more ſo, had they ſeen it, as we have done: there were two ſorts of places where this burning was wont to be practiſed, to wit, in the ſavana's and woods: when the former were ſet on fire, whoſe graſs was almoſt as high as our heads, and alſo as dry, in a manner, as powder, we found ourſelves ſo beſieged on the right and left ſide of the road with the flame, that it made us feel it to ſome purpoſe, though the ſame were of no long duration: but when theſe roads lead through covert and woody countries, as in the preſent occaſion whereof I am ſpeaking, and that once fire be ſet thereunto, one may ſee, according to the courſe of the wind, the country for ſeveral leagues burnt in a little time, to which the dryneſs of things doth very much contribute, the ſun being exceeding hot at that ſeaſon.

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On the twenty-third we ſent our quarter-maſter on board the Engliſh, to make an agreement with them: we propoſed to go in conjunction with them to take Queaquilla (where the Spaniards drove a great trade by ſea) upon condition that, if we took two ſhips, we ſhould caſt lots who ſhould chooſe, and that, in caſe there were but one taken, that then we would put fifty men of each nation on board her, till ſuch time as we could take another, which they would not agree to, as inſiſting upon the firſt choice: ſo that, ſeeing we could not bring them to comply, we parted as well from them as from captain Grognet and fifty of our men who ſtaid on board him; ſo that they had an hundred and forty-two men in their ſhip, and we an hundred and ſixty-two in our frigate and long bark.

On the twenty-fourth we weighed, and ſet ſail for Queaquilla, which is the firſt maritime town on the ſouth coaſt, as you go thither from Panama; we made all the ſail we could to get thither before the Engliſh, who had formed the ſame deſign as we had done; we lay by till the twenty-fifth to get out of the bay, and, in paſſing from the White Cape, we ſteered S. S. W. S. and by S. W. and directly S. to the twenty-eighth in the evening, that we had on our ſtarboard-ſide a W. N. W. wind, bearing us to the S. which laſted till the twenty-ninth, when we were becalmed in the night. On the firſt of March towards noon aroſe a pretty freſh gale from the north, which made us bear S. S. W. and S. S. E. till the fourth in the morning, when an eaſterly breeze took us, and made us bear ſouth; on the fifth aroſe a N. W. wind; and on the eighth at noon we paſſed the equinoctial line, leaving the iſles of Galapa, which are below to the weſt, a dozen leagues to leeward.

Theſe are eight iſlands that ſtand N. and S. of the White Cape, and E. and W. from Queaquilla; they are full of ſea tortoiſes, that land there every hour of the day, and you cannot find a place to tread on or walk along in the woods, for the great number of land tortoiſes, lizards, and agoutils that retire thither: the ſea thereabouts is alſo ſo fruitful in the production of fiſh, that they come to the very ſands to die there; but theſe advantages, on the other hand, are encountered with the want of water, whereof theſe iſlands are entirely deſtitute.

The wind, towards evening, came to N. N. E. and made us bear E. and by S. E. to keep to the continent; the weather, on the tenth in the morning, grew very dark, and, we having a ſoutherly blaſt, we bore eaſt, and E. by S. E. till the eleventh, when we were becalmed. On the thirteenth aroſe an eaſt wind, and we bore to the S. S. E. upon a tack, and N. N. E. and then lay by for ſome time, becauſe we did not know the currents: on the fourteenth, having a N. E. wind, we bore E. S. E. and accordingly, as it blew freſh, we ſteered E. and by S. E. and E. On the fifteenth, two hours before day-light, we had a ſtorm, and then a S. wind; we ſteered eaſt all that day, but we had ſuch bad weather the following night, that we could not carry our ſails; next day about noon the weather grew better, and an eaſterly breeze preſented; we lay by till the eighteenth at noon, when we diſcovered a ſhip to windward of us, to whom we gave chace till the evening; ſhe proved to be the Engliſh ſhip that had parted from us when we came out of the bay of Caldaira, who, knowing who we were, put into the cape. We came to leeward of her, but ſhe ſpread out her ſails, and got to leeward of us. After we had given one another this ſalutation, we put out for two hours to ſee which ſailed beſt, but knowing

knowing at laſt they were the better ſailors, and fearing they might reach Queaquilla before us, we deſired them to join with us in our deſign, to which when they agreed, we ſet ſail together; we found ourſelves much perplexed to know what latitude we might be in, ſince we had not ſeen the ſun for ten days together; but it happily fell out, that it appeared on the nineteenth: our pilots computed we might be about twenty-five leagues to windward of Queaquilla, and ſixty leagues from land; but the winds varied to that degree, that we could make no way, and many times went contrary.

On the twentieth we had a weſt wind, and ſteered E. and by S. E. till the twenty-firſt, when we were becalmed: on the twenty-fourth aroſe a S. wind, and on the twenty-ſixth an eaſterly breeze; at laſt, the wind perſiſting to be contrary, we were reduced to great want of victuals, for we had already been upon our paſſage longer than our proviſion would allow us: to which we may add, that fiſh had, till now, been ſo ſcarce and hard to catch, that we had but little ſupport from them: ſo that, having on the twenty-eighth taken an account of the remainder of our victualling, we were forced to retrench ourſelves ſo far, as to eat but once in forty-eight hours: we alſo wanted water, and, had it not been for the help of rain, we had certainly died of thirſt; but what made us amends for one part of our wants was, that we found ourſelves, all of a ſudden, in a kingdom of large fiſhes, ſuch as emperors, tunnies, germons, galdenies, negroes, bonitoes, and ſeveral others, to whom we gave no quarter, no more than to the ſea-wolves, who, for all their ill ſmell, could not eſcape us. During that time we bore to the N. E. the wind not allowing us to keep on our deſigned courſe, that, if the worſt came to the worſt, we might, by this courſe, reach the iſle of St. John, purſuant to

the deſign we had formed, upon meeting with this contrary wind, of putting in there, in caſe the ſame continued all the way: on the twenty-ninth, after we had taken the latitude, our pilots computed us to be oppoſite the iſle of Platta, thirty leagues to leeward of Quicaquilla: on the thirtieth, being Eaſter-day, we were but one degree north-latitude; in the twilight the wind began to blow freſh, and bore us E. N. E. Next day the wind came S. S. W. we ſteering eaſt, eaſt and by ſouth-eaſt, and E. S. E. On the third of April we were becalmed; and as we had for the ſpace of two days, by the computation of our pilots, ſailed towards land, they were of opinion that the currents deceived them, of which we made ourſelves ſatisfied by the following manner: on the fourth, the weather being very calm, we furled our ſails, and put out one of our periaugues, about whoſe fore-caſtle we ſpun ſixty fathom of our ſmalleſt rope, made faſt unto a grappling-iron, and, from that coaſt ſhe made from, the tide ran along her ſide with as much ſwiftneſs as the current of a river, and bore to the N. E. On the fifth we caulked our ſhips; towards midnight a S. W. wind preſented itſelf, and we bore S. E.

On the ſixth in the morning we diſcovered land both to windward and leeward of us; we veered to, leſt we ſhould be brought too near, and ſteered S. On the eighth we were about four or five leagues off, and our coaſting pilots knew the place to be cape Paſtao, which is under the Line thirty leagues to leeward of the iſle of Platta; we had all hands aloft, and ſteered S. On the ninth we bore to the S. S. E. till the evening, and to the S. W. till ten at night, when we ſteered to the S. S. E. and on the eleventh we were got to the height of the iſle of Platta, eighteen leagues out at ſea.

On

On the twelfth at noon we ſaw the point of Sancta Helena, which is fifteen leagues to leeward of Queaquilla, and forms the beginning of the bay that bears the name of that town. About twelve at night we ſaw fire to windward of us; we lay by till break of day, when we diſcovered a ſhip three leagues to windward of us, and, as we were becalmed, we ſent three periaugues to know what ſhe was; they found her to be a prize, laden with wine and corn, which captain David had taken as ſhe came out of Naſca, and which was ſeparated from him; he had put eight Engliſhmen on board to conduct her, who were to have their rendezvous, in caſe of a ſeparation, at the iſle of Platta: theſe men told us, that, after they had left St. John's iſland they made ſeveral deſcents, and in ſeveral parts of that country, among others, at Sagua, Arrica, and Piſca; that, in the laſt of theſe places, a relation of the vice-roy of Lima came at the head of eight hundred men to attack them with ſword in hand, but that they were vigorouſly repulſed; that they had alſo taken a great many ſhips, which, when they had pillaged, they let go again, ſo that, finding they had got to the value of five thouſand pieces of eight a man, they had reſolved to return to the North-ſea, and that, as they ſailed away for the ſtreights of Magellan, they fell to gaming, whereat many loſt all they had got; that they had anchored in the road which leads to the iſles of Dom. Fernandez, that ſtand upon the brink of the ſtreight, to which place came captain Willnet, an Engliſhman, who had left them long before, and was come thither upon the ſame deſign with themſelves, of repaſſing into the North-ſeas by the ſame ſtreights; but that captain David had altered his reſolution, for that thoſe of his crew, who had loſt their money, were not willing to leave thoſe ſeas, nor the ſhip, till they

had taken another: that, as for thoſe who had won, they went on board captain Willnet, out of which ſhip went alſo, at the ſame time, ſuch of his crew as were without money, in order to go and get ſome with captain David, and that ſo they were come back into the South-ſea, to the number of ſixty Engliſh and twenty French, as Willnet was gone through the ſtreight for the North-ſea; that captain Peter Henry was gone for the Eaſt-Indies, preſently after captain Suams; and laſtly, they told us (though we had been informed thereof before) that the Spaniſh fleet was a careening at Puerto Callao, which, as I have already ſaid, is the place of embarking that belongs to Lima.

As theſe eight Engliſhmen did not think that captain David's frigate would rejoin them ſo quickly at the place of rendezvous, they propoſed going with us to Queaquilla; which we ſo much the more willingly agreed to, in that they gave us a ſhare of their victuals and drink, and a little revived amongſt us that uſual merriment, that had now for ſome time been exiled from us by the abſtinences we were forced to undergo, wherewith we were extremely weakened; then we ſailed all night in their company, ſteering S. E. and by E.

On the fourteenth we furled all our ſails for fear of being diſcovered from land, near unto which we were: about two aroſe a fog, by favour whereof we made uſe of our main-ſail of all, as well to come ready rigged into the bay, which is thirty leagues in length, as to get to windward of the river Queaquilla, and to ſpare ourſelves alſo the labour of rowing ſo much, for, being ſo extraordinary weak, we had not ſtrength to do it.

We ſteered all night S. E. and on the fifteenth diſcovered the White Cape, which is the windward cape of this bay; about ten in the morning, we embarked

barked to the number of two hundred and ſixty men on board our canoes, after having given our ſhips orders to lay by in the bay, till they heard news from us. We ſteered all day long for the iſland Sancta Clara, with which we came up at ſun-ſetting; this little iſland is in reality nothing elſe but a rock, ſtanding E. and W. ſix leagues diſtant from the continent; we were obliged to caſt anchor with all the tides contrary to us, it being impoſſible to put into this bay againſt the currents, where we found ſix fathom water: and on the ſixteenth we found ourſelves between Sancta Clara and la Puna, about five leagues from the ſhore.

La Puna is a very pretty iſland, and may be diſcovered at a great diſtance at ſea, becauſe of the form of it, reſembling a cardinal's cap; it is twenty leagues in circumference, and ſtands E. and W. two leagues from the continent, and over-againſt the mouth of the river Queaquilla: there is a large borough built upon it, where, in former times, were kept the king of Spain's magazines. Great ſhips, that is, ſuch as are two or three deck'd ones, that cannot come into the river, anchor between it and the iſland: we hid ourſelves in this iſland all day, and that with the good luck of not being diſcovered by the centinels, who were there to the number of forty of them, though we knew nothing of it; we departed in the evening, and got more ſoutherly, that we might not be diſcovered from the continent.

On the ſeventeenth we hid ourſelves again in a covert place upon the ſame iſland; where, after we had got an exact account from our priſoners of the ſtate, ſituation, and diſpoſition of the town of Queaquilla, which we were about to go and take, we diſpoſed of our forces in the following order: there were fifty men making the forlorn hope, led by captain

tain Picard, who commanded our frigate, to attack the great fort; fourſcore grenadiers, commanded by the captain of our bark, were to be in the nature of reſerves, and to ſerve any where, as there ſhould be occaſion for them; captain Grognet with the main body was to make himſelf maſter of the town and port; and captain George Hewit, who was commander of the Engliſh ſhip, with fifty of his men, was to attack the little fort, and a thouſand pieces of eight was promiſed to any one of the enſigns, whereof I was one, that ſhould pitch the firſt colours upon the great fort. Things being thus regulated, we left our covert in the evening, believing we might be able to enter into the river of Queaquilla that night, before day-light appeared; but, for all that, all we could do was to gain one of the points of the iſland, which is over-againſt the river, for we could have the advantage of the tides coming in but for three hours, which was the reaſon that on the eighteenth, as we put off again, that we might the more readily get under the covert of the iſland, day overtook us, and ſo diſcovered us to a centinel, who fet a cottage on fire as a ſignal to the other centinels that were poſted at convenient diſtances on both ſides the river, that he ſaw us, that ſo theſe might advertiſe the town of it: as ſoon as we got aſhore, we marched croſs a wood to get to the ſaid fire, where we found ſome of thoſe that had kindled it; whereof two were killed as they fled to ſave themſelves, and a third was taken, but we could get no intelligence from him, for he was but a little boy.

This day we diſcovered a ſhip entering into the river; we let her paſs, being unwilling to come out from under our covert to fall upon her, for fear of being diſcovered by thoſe on the main land, who, we ſuppoſed, knew nothing of us, becauſe the inhabitants of Queaquilla had not anſwered the fire-

ſignal

ſignal which the centinel of la Puna had given them. Upon the approach of night we made ready, and entered into the river of Queaquilla by one of the two mouths we found there, and by which goes in and out with the tide ſo rapid a current, that it is enough to carry a canoe two leagues in an hour, ſo that we made four in the ſpace of two hours.

There are two very fine iſlands in the two largeſt parts of this river (which may be about half a league over) under the covert whereof we hid ourſelves on the nineteenth all day long. We made ready in the evening, and had the pleaſure to be carried up by the current, without the uſe of our oars, for fear leſt the centinels, who are always placed on this river's ſides, ſhould hear the noiſe of our rowing: the deſign of our guide was to paſs by and land beyond the town, becauſe he knew it was weaker, and worſe guarded on that ſide than on the other; but his project failed him, for the tide, now going out, was as injurious to us, as before it had been favourable, and forced us to go aſhore, two hours before day, within cannon-ſhot on this ſide the town, from whence we diſcovered a great many lights, which they uſually keep in their houſes all night long.

This place, where we landed, is a country full of water and ſhrubs, acroſs which we were forced to cut our way with our ſabres; but we did not know we were unhappily landed over-againſt a centinel, nor that, half an hour after that, one of our men, who was left behind to look after our canoes, ſtruck fire to light his pipe with, which he raſhly did, contrary to the expreſs prohibition we had given him; which being perceived by that centinel, he made no doubt but there muſt be enemies near, becauſe the Spaniards, upon pain of death, forbid their people to ſtrike fire in the night; inſomuch that he preſently diſcharged a ſmall patereroe, to give the fort notice

of

of it, who readily anſwered the ſame with a whole diſcharge of their cannon. Being overtaken at that inſtant of time with a ſtorm of rain, we were obliged to put in for ſhelter into a great houſe we found before us, to light the grenadiers matches, and wait till day appeared; during which ſpace the enemy fired continually from the town, to frighten and let us underſtand they were ready to receive us.

On the twentieth at break of day we marched out in order towards the town, with our drums beating and colours flying; and, upon our approach, found ourſelves ſtopped by ſeven hundred men, who attacked us from under the covert of a wall four foot and a half high, and of a ditch, wherewith the ſame was encompaſſed towards the river's ſide, which made us preſently ſuppoſe it to be their fort, having had no good intelligence of the ſituation of the place. They did all they could to repulſe us, and preſently killed ſome of our men. Being encouraged with this little advantage, they had the boldneſs to ſally out upon us with ſword in hand; but, ſeeing we gave them a moſt vigorous reception, they fled without any more ado, and contented themſelves with breaking down the bridges, to hinder us from advancing: but this could not prevent our croſſing the ditch, and getting to the foot of the wall, whereof we rendered ourſelves maſters, in ſpight of all the reſiſtance made by them, who were not proof againſt our granadoes, that drove them into the very houſes, which are all of them built on purpoſe for places of defence, in caſe they be attacked, and from whence in a ſhort time we alſo drove them. They fled to the place of arms, and intrenched themſelves in a ſtrong caze, which we call a redoubt, and which, when they had defended for an hour's time, they were all forced to abandon, inſomuch that we purſued them from fort to fort, till we came to a third, which is the greateſt

and

and moſt conſiderable of them all: here they defended themſelves a long time; for they fired continually upon us, by favour of the ſmoke of their cannon, which hindered us from ſeeing them. When we were got to the foot of the palliſadoes, they ſallied out again with ſword in hand, and, having wounded ſome of our men, they took one of them priſoner; but we quickly made them leave him, and to run back into their fort, after they had loſt a great many men. At laſt, being weary with about eleven hours fight, and our powder being now almoſt ſpent, we redoubled our efforts in ſuch a manner, that we broke in upon them, and made ourſelves maſters of this laſt fort, but not without loſs on our ſide, ſince we had nine men killed, and a dozen wounded. We ſent out ſeveral parties at the ſame time to purſue thoſe that fled, who were ſtill in ſight of us, while the other Roman Catholicks went to ſing *Te Deum* in the great church, after we had firſt put a garriſon into the fort.

The town of Queaquilla is almoſt built round about a little mountain, whereon ſtand thoſe three forts, two whereof are commanded by the third, which is the largeſt, and all of them command the town. The greateſt, which is that againſt which we had moſt to do, is no where ſtrong, but to the river-ward, and the two leſſer ones are upon the deſcent of an hill, which alſo looks towards the river, and are each of them ſurrounded with a thin but very high wall on the outſide; we found none but patereroes to defend it; there is a communication between theſe laſt two, and the other by a covert-way, on each ſide whereof are two rows of palliſadoes filled with earth, and defended alſo with patereroes. In the great fort, which is alſo beſet with palliſadoes, we found ſeven pieces of cannon, carrying from twelve to eighteen pound ball; but they could not, becauſe of the elevation

elevation of the place, bring their guns to bear low enough to incommode thoſe that were in the town, unleſs, by thundering againſt the houſes, they ſhould be buried in the ruins of them. The magazines of powder ſtand in the middle of the fort, and are ſlightly enough built. The town, as I have obſerved, is to the river-ward, encompaſſed with a wall, four feet and a half high, and three feet thick: the ſtreets are very ſtraight: the pariſh churches, as well as the convents, are very curiouſly built; the houſes are almoſt all built with boards, and founded upon piles, for that in the rainy time of the year, which continues from the beginning of January to the end of April, they are ſo incommoded, as to be forced to make bridges, and raiſe banks of earth in all the ſtreets, to keep off the water and mud. Their chief commodity is cocoa, of which they make chocolate. We took ſeven hundred priſoners of both ſexes in this place, and amongſt the reſt was the governor and his family: he was wounded, as were ſeveral officers and men of quality, who fought more bravely than five thouſand other men that defended the place.

We found in the place ſeveral ſorts of merchandiſes, a great many pearls and precious ſtones, a prodigious quantity of ſilver plate, and ſeventy thouſand pieces of eight at leaſt; though there were three millions among them when we came thither: but, as we were all wholly taken up to make ourſelves maſters of the forts, they laid hold of that opportunity to make their eſcapes along the river, with the greateſt part of their moſt valuable moveables: when our canoes were come to anchor under the town, we were not backward to ſend four of them away, in purſuit of the ſhallops that carried the ſaid riches of the town away, but then it was too late: they only took twenty-two thouſand pieces of eight, and

and a vermilion eagle gilt, that had ſerved for a tabernacle to ſome church, weighing ſixty-eight pounds, and was exceeding rare, as well for the workmanſhip, as two great rocks of emeralds, wherewith the eyes of it were made: there were fourteen barks in the port, with the gallies, againſt whom we fought at Pueblo Nuevo, and two of the king of Spain's ſhips upon the ſtocks, almoſt finiſhed: we agreed with the governor in the evening about the price of his family's, the town, fort, cannon, and ſhips ranſoms, they being to give us a million of pieces of eight in gold, and four hundred ſacks of corn; and, in order to forward the payment of the ſaid ranſom, which was to be brought from the town of Quitto, eight leagues off, he deſired us to releaſe their vicar-general, who was a man of great authority and credit amongſt them.

We found this governor's houſe ſo richly furniſhed and filled with ſuch precious moveables, that nothing in Europe could be more magnificent: the women in this town are very pretty; but moſt of the fathers or monks live here at great eaſe, and in ſuch familiarity with the fair ſex, that it is far from being a good pattern and example unto others: the fathers hated us to that degree, that they perſuaded the women, who had never ſeen any free-booters, we were altogether unlike them, that we were not even of human form, and that we would both eat them and their children; which made them conceive ſo much horror and averſion for us, that they could not be diſpoſſeſſed thereof, till they came to know us better. But then, I can boldly ſay, they entertained quite different ſentiments of our perſons, and have given us frequent inſtances of ſo violent a paſſion as proceeded ſometimes even to a degree of folly.

It is not from a chance ſtory that I came to know the impreſſions wrought in theſe women, that we were

were men that would eat them; for, the next day after the taking of the town, a young gentlewoman that waited upon the governeſs of the place happening to fall into my hands, as I was carrying her away to the place where the reſt of the priſoners were kept, and to that end made her walk before me, ſhe turned back, and, with tears in her eyes, told me, in her own language, 'Senior, pur l'Amor de Dios 'no mi como;' that is, 'Pray, Sir, for the love of 'God do not eat me;' whereupon I aſked who had told her that we were wont to eat people; ſhe anſwered, the fathers, who had alſo aſſured them, that we had not human ſhape, but that we reſembled monkies.

On the twenty-firſt ſome of our men, who had made a fire in the day-time in one of the houſes of the town, came to the court of guard in the evening, without extinguiſhing of it; ſo that at night it ſet the town on fire; but the fear we were in, leſt the ſame ſhould reach our court of guard, whereon was lodged all the powder in the place, and part of the merchandiſe and riches of the town, we were obliged to get all carried on board the barks that were in the port, and to bring all our priſoners into the fort; and, when that was done, we endeavoured to put a ſtop to the fire, which yet burnt down one third of the town, notwithſtanding all the pains we took to put it out.

We returned on the twenty-ſecond in the morning to our court of guard, and fearing leſt the Spaniards might refuſe to pay the ranſom agreed on for the town, becauſe of this accident, we having promiſed by our treaty with them not to burn it, we took upon us to believe they were the cauſe of it, and ſent them a letter, wherein we gave them to underſtand we were much ſurprized at their manner of procedure; that they ſhould, after our agreement with them, come

come with a miſchievous intention to burn the merchandiſe and corn that were of ſo much uſe to us, and that we repented we had not left all the town to be burnt: that, if they did not pay us what we had ſuffered by the fire, we ſhould ſend them fifty of the priſoners heads: they thereupon excuſed the matter to us, ſaying, they muſt be ſome raſcally ſpightful people that had done this, and they would take care to ſatisfy us.

On the twenty-third the governor furniſhed us with a coaſting pilot, whom we ſent in one of our canoes to ſee for our ſhips (to whom we had given orders they ſhould lay by in the bay) to bring them to an anchor at the iſle of Puna, whither we were to go at our departure from Queaquilla, to wait for the promiſed ranſoms: on the twenty-fourth, finding one of our men was ſick with the ſtench which the dead carcaſes, to the number of above nine hundred, lying up and down the town, occaſioned, we went our ways, after we had firſt diſmounted and nailed up the cannon in the fort, and carried five hundred priſoners, being the beſt of the inhabitants, along with us, into our barks; wherein we arrived with them on the twenty-fifth at Puna, where we found our ſhips ready to caſt anchor.

On the ſecond of May captain Grognet died of the wound he had received that day we took the town, when the ſeven hundred Spaniards oppoſed our entering the fort, and the ſame day died four of our men alſo. On the fourth we ſent our galley to the iſle of Platta, to ſee if captain David's frigate was come to rendezvous there.

The time allowed for the payment of the ranſom of Queaquilla being expired on the ninth, we granted them four days longer; but then we began to be weary of this delay, when a Spaniſh bark, that was wont to carry us proviſion, brought an officer in her,

her, who desired us not to be impatient, for the ransom would be quickly paid: now this dilatoriness made us begin to suspect very much that there was some treachery in the case, and that they entertained us with hopes for no other end than to amuse us, till such time as the enemy were reinforced. And our guess was right enough, as will appear hereafter, insomuch that we were constrained to use such severity towards our prisoners, which we knew would strike a terror into our enemies. We made them throw dice for their lives, and, the lot falling upon the head of four, we cut them off presently, and sent them to Queaquilla in the same vessel that had brought the said officer unto us, by whom we let the tenient understand, that, if the ransom did not come within four days, we would send them the heads of all the rest of the people that were in our power.

Our galley on the fourteenth returned from the isle of Platta, and related that she had been chaced about the point of Sancta Helena by two ships, which she could not discover what they were; and this made us that evening send out one of our canoes that sailed well, to see what those ships might be: on the sixteenth she found they came to join us, they being captain David's frigate and a prize he had taken after the other had been separated from them, which we met before we went to Queaquilla; they came with full resolution to make a descent at Paita, in order to get some refreshments for their men who had been wounded in a fight they had had with a Spanish ship called Catalina, which they met fifty leagues to leeward of Lima, and was one of those that we had for so long a time waited for before that town.

This ship Catalina was separated from two more with whom she was returning to the port of Callao, when,

when, unfortunately for her, ſhe met with captain David's frigate, that ſailed much better than ſhe, and could have taken her, without making, as he did, two days fight of it, had it not been that the greateſt part of his crew, being continually drunk, ſailed twenty times to come up cloſe to board her, and ſuffered themſelves to fall to leeward, becauſe of their ill rigging, as often as they found themſelves to windward of her; which being obſerved by the Spaniards, they thought, by putting up a bloody flag, they would be quickly brought to ſtrike, but therein they were miſtaken, and the quite contrary fell out: for David's people growing ſober on the third day, and putting their tackle and rigging into better order than before, the Spaniards were ſo terrified thereat, that they ran aſhore, where their ſhip did not keep whole two hours: David's men, in a canoe, went to ſave two Spaniards, who were about ſwimming to land; and now, having eſcaped the danger of drowning, told them that their captain, having had his thigh ſhot off with a cannon ball, had deſired his lieutenant before his death to loſe no time, but to go without tarrying to acquaint the vice-roy of Lima of the dangerous eſtate the frigate was reduced to, that he might ſend without delay to her aſſiſtance.

Our canoe, which on the twenty-ſecond came to rejoin us, and gave the foreſaid information, brought alſo along with her captain David's prize, which he had ſent to deſire us to get a main-maſt to be brought him from Queaquilla, as ſomewhat of our ranſom, his having been very much damnified in the laſt engagement; and that, till it came, he would cruiſe without the bay to prevent our being ſurprized by the Spaniards.

I forgot to take notice that this ſhip's crew had, at Paita, ſurprized a courier that was going from Quea-

Queaquilla to Lima the third time, to carry the following letter unto the vice-roy; which clearly made out unto us the ſuſpicions we had entertained before, that the Spaniards deferred to pay us the promiſed ranſom, that they might have time to prepare themſelves to come and pay us in a ſort of coin we had no occaſion for, and which we did not require at their hands.

A letter of the tenient of Queaquilla to the vice-roy of Lima.

'SIR,

'I AM to inform your excellency the ſecond time, 'that the Engliſh and French are ſtill at Puna; 'it is ſeveral days ſince the term they had allowed us 'for the redemption of our priſoners is expired; I 'have done it on purpoſe that your excellency might 'gain time. They have ſent me four of our people's heads: I will amuſe them with ſome thouſands 'of pieces of eight from time to time (though they 'have no reaſon to be weary) while your excellency 'may pleaſe to come; and, though they ſhould yet 'ſend me fifty heads more, I ſhall eſteem that loſs to 'be much leſs prejudicial to us, than to ſuffer ſuch 'evil diſpoſed people to live. Now, Sir, we have 'a brave opportunity to get rid of them, provided 'your excellency loſe no time to do it.'

We could not have received a more certain teſtimony of the thoughts and deſigns of our enemies, than thoſe diſcovered by his letter unto us; ſo we took our meaſures accordingly.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The remaining actions of the free-booters in the South-ſea, during 1687.

THE beſt winter-quarters which we had met with in theſe ſeas, and that of longeſt duration, was that of the time of our ſojourning upon this iſland of la Puna, where, for the ſpace of thirty odd days that we ſtaid here, we lived mighty well; for, beſides the victuals which the Spaniards brought us daily from Queaquilla, we had brought thither ourſelves a great many refreſhments, neither did we want charms for our ears in this place, for we had all the muſick of the town among our priſoners, which conſiſted of lutes, theorbs, harps, guittars, and other inſtruments I never ſaw any where elſe, wherewith they made a very fine concert.

Some of our men grew very familiar with our women priſoners, who, without offering them any violence, were not ſparing of their favours, and made appear, as I have already remarked, that, after they came once to know us, they did not retain all the averſion for us that had been inculcated into them, when we were ſtrangers unto them: all our people were ſo charmed with this way of living, that they forgot their paſt miſeries, and thought of no more danger from the Spaniards than if they had been in the middle of Paris.

Amongſt the reſt, myſelf had one pretty adventure; among the other priſoners we had a young gentlewoman lately become a widow of the treaſurer of the town, who was ſlain when it was taken: now this woman appeared ſo far comforted for her loſs, out of an hard-heartedneſs they have in this country one for another, that ſhe propoſed to hide

me and herſelf in ſome corner of the iſland, till our people were gone, and that then ſhe would bring me to Queaquilla to marry her; that ſhe would procure me her huſband's office, and veſt me in his eſtate, which was very great. When I had returned her thanks for ſuch obliging offers, I gave her to underſtand that I was afraid her intereſt had not the maſtery over the Spaniards reſentments; and that the wounds they had received from us were yet too freſh and green for them eaſily to forget them: ſhe went about to cure me of my ſuſpicion, by procuring ſecretly from the governor and chief officers promiſes under their hands, how kindly I ſhould be uſed by them. I confeſs I was not a little perplexed herewith; and ſuch preſſing teſtimonies of good-will and friendſhip towards me, brought me, after a little conſultation with myſelf, into ſuch a quandary, that I did not know which ſide to cloſe with; nay, I found myſelf at length much inclined to cloſe with the offers made me: and I had two powerful reaſons to induce me thereunto, one of which was the miſerable and languiſhing life we lead in thoſe places, where we were in perpetual hazard to loſe it, which I ſhould be freed from by an advantageous offer of a pretty woman, and a conſiderable ſettlement; the other proceeded from the deſpair I was in of ever being able to return into my own country, for want of ſhips fit for that purpoſe: but, when I began to reflect upon theſe things with a little more leiſure and conſideration, and that I revolved with myſelf, how little truſt was to be given to the promiſes and faith of ſo perfidious, as well as vindictive a nation as the Spaniards, and more eſpecially towards men in our circumſtances, by whom they had been ſo ill uſed; this ſecond reflection carried it againſt the firſt, and even all the advantages offered me by this lady: but, however the matter was, I was reſolved,

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in ſpight of the grief and tears of this pretty woman, to prefer the continuance of my troubles (with a ray of hope I had of ſeeing France again) before the perpetual ſuſpicion I ſhould have had of ſome treachery deſigned againſt me. Thus I rejected her propoſals; but ſo as to aſſure her I ſhould retain, even as long as I lived, a lively reſentment of her affections and good inclinations towards me.

On the twenty-third, we ſent one of our canoes to Queaquilla, to carry one of the fathers thither, they being a people as much obeyed and reſpected by that nation, as the vice-roys themſelves. The governor gave this man a full power to act as he pleaſed, even in oppoſition to the obſtructions which the tenient made againſt the payment of the ranſom aforementioned. After his departure came a bark, which brought us four-and-twenty ſacks of meal, and to the value of twenty thouſand pieces of eight in gold: they deſired us, moreover, to grant them three days time for the payment of the reſt; which we allowed them, but withal threatened, upon their failure therein, we ſhould ſeize upon their fort and burn their town and ſhips.

Our canoe returned the twenty-fifth, who gave us an account they would pay no more than two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight for the reſt of the ranſom, and that the tenient would purſue his prince's orders, who forbad the payment of any: that he had five thouſand men at hand, with which he waited, to ſee if we would put our threats in execution. Upon this fierce and bold anſwer, we had a conſultation together whether we ſhould cut off the heads of all the priſoners: the plurality of voices, together with mine, was, that it were better we ſhould go and look after the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight, than ſhed any more blood; ſeeing alſo, that, our deſign being to leave theſe ſeas, we had no fur-

ther occaſion for theſe executions, to make us be feared; and that, after all, we were but too well aſſured by the tenient's letter, that the Spaniards were ſetting all things in order, to come and act their utmoſt efforts againſt us, which, perhaps, would adminiſter matter of repentance unto us, if we ſtill perſiſted in our reſolution: that therefore we ought to accept of the offer, and to give up unto them no other than the meaneſt of the priſoners, without diveſting ourſelves of thoſe of quality, who would be a ſecurity unto us for the reſt: that, while we waited for them, it was our beſt way to take them along with us, and put off from the ſhore, ſteering towards the point of St. Helena, where we ſhould be out of danger of the ſurprizes of our enemies, whoſe motions we could every way diſcover at a diſtance. Things being thus concluded on, we ſent our canoe to Queaquilla, who returned again the twenty-fifth, and told us, that next day the Spaniards would, without fail, bring us the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight to the iſle of Puna, where we then were.

We put, the ſame day, fifty of our beſt priſoners on board our ſhips; and, at the ſame time, weighed anchor, and quitted our good winter-quarters, where we left the reſt of our priſoners, with two canoes to guard them, and to wait for the money promiſed us; giving our men orders to tell thoſe that brought it, that they ſhould ſend us the remainder of what was agreed on to the point of St. Helena; and, upon default thereof, that they ſhould ſee the people no more. Our canoes, on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, came to join us, as we lay by to get out of this bay, and brought us the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight.

Next night the Engliſh frigate's prize, who thought we lay ſtill at anchor at la Puna (from whence ſhe met

us

us about eight leagues) came to give us notice, that two Spaniſh armadilla's waited our coming out of the bay, and that David's frigate lay by, as they did, to ſtay for us: on the twenty-ſeventh by break of day we diſcovered them between the iſle of St. Clare and the point of St. Helena, to the windward of us. Captain David's frigate, upon ſight of us, made up preſently to us, and, having got all together, we conſulted what we were beſt to do: we put four-ſcore of our men on board him, becauſe he had not number enough of his own to manage his guns; and, as we had not men enough to manage our prizes, we reſerved only but two ſhips, and a long bark, and ſent the reſt with our periaugues upon the flats, where the Spaniſh ſhips could not come, as drawing more water than they did. We lay by till noon, to get the weather-gage, which yet we could not do, becauſe at this time of the year the winds blow from the ſea, and are very fixed, and that beſides, as we came out of the bottom of the bay, we could not well hope to gain it, the Spaniards being at the mouth thereof.

About noon our enemies came upon us, and ſo we fought till the evening with our cannon, which the Spaniards call gallant fighting, without much hurting of one another: we caſt anchor upon the approach of night, as they did alſo about a league to the windward of us: we fired a gun for our prizes to come up, which they did, and caſt anchor near us, for their greater ſecurity.

We ſent them back about an hour before day-light to their former ſtation, and, as ſoon as ever light appeared, we made ready, and the Spaniards did the ſame; but no ſooner were we got under ſail, but we were becalmed: unhappily it fell out that we were without our periaugues to row us to windward, becauſe we had ſent them back with our prizes to

avoid the trouble they might have cauſed us; and therefore all we could do, now, was to make uſe of our little canoes, which we had ſtill with us; the Spaniards alſo rowed to the windward to diſpute the matter with us; however, with much ado, we got a cannon-ſhot to the windward of them; but, as they knew better how to bear cloſe up to the wind in theſe ſeas than we, in half an hour's time they recovered the weather gage of us. We lay by till two in the afternoon, and ſeeing we could do no good with them, we put in to the cape, to wait for two of our ſhips that were behind. In the mean time theſe armadilla's bore up to us, and, when they had got within a good cannon-ſhot, we fought till it was dark night; they very much ſhattered us, yet wounded but one man; we anchored in the evening, as we had done the day before, and they did the ſame alſo to the windward of us.

We remained at anchor on the twenty-ninth, as well as they, till three in the afternoon, when they weighed to go and attack the biggeſt of our prizes, becauſe ſhe had anchored only on the ſide of the ſhallows, and we made ready to defend her: we came to ſuch a cloſe fight with them, that all our ſmall arms, as well as great guns, came into play on both ſides; yet we loſt not one man, though they on their ſide had a great many killed, which we knew by the blood that ran out of their ſkupper-holes, and at our parting they cried, *A la manana la partida*, that is, To-morrow to it again.

On the thirtieth both they and we prepared to put out of the bay, and the Spaniards, who were ſtill to windward, did all they could to hinder us to get the weather-gage. We came to an anchor towards noon, to diſarm one of our prizes that ſailed very badly, and to fit up another in the room of her, which captain David gave us, as well as the twenty French-

men

men that made part of his crew, and were minded to leave him. We wrought all night to unrig her, and, when we had ſo done, we ſent her into the bottom. We put ourſelves under ſail on the thirty-firſt, and about two in the afternoon came to an anchor, becauſe of the tide's being againſt us: preſently after the two armadilla's came up with us, which made us weigh, and then to put in at the cape, to wait for one of our prizes that was far from us, which not being able to join us as ſoon as the enemy, her crew left her, and went into her periaugue, wherein they came to throw themſelves on board one of our men of war: they had left four Spaniards in that ſame prize, who, by the favour of a good wind, put back into the river of Queaquilla, where they made their eſcape, and, what was worſt of all, took along with them almoſt all our proviſions that was in her.

When we were got within half cannon-ſhot of our enemies ſhips, we fired upon one another, and that without intermiſſion, till an hour within night: we received ſeveral cannon-ſhot in our ſides during this engagement, had almoſt all our tackle ſpoiled, and our ſails ſifted, becauſe the Spaniards did all that ever they could to bring our maſts by the board; and indeed the fore-maſt of the frigate received five cannon-ſhot, and the main-maſt three, but they came only ſlanting, and, as good luck would have it, we had not one man killed or wounded.

We ſaw the enemy on the firſt of June, by break of day, a league's diſtance from us; we were not ſlow to do all we could to put out: about ten they lengthened their boltſpring ſails, and returned upon us; but, as we ſaw them bear up towards our frigate, we thought they intended to board her, and this made us preſently put into her the crew of our long-bark, by way of reinforcement. As ſoon as

ever the Spaniards were come up, they put out their Burgundian colours, having till then put out none: when we were come pretty near, they gave us a volley of muſquet-ſhot, together with a diſcharge of their cannon, laden with cartouches; but we got clear of them, ſo that they could not come to grapple with us.

After we had left them to make all the fire they could, we gave them a diſcharge of all our cannon, and a full volley with our ſmall arms in our turn, and then we were ready to board them; but they, finding themſelves much damaged, very readily got aloof to hinder us.

They took up an hour's time to refit, then bore up to us again, renewing the fight, which laſted till night; but they had been ſo well banged, that they had no mind to feel us this time ſo near, and that day we had three men wounded.

On the ſecond, by break of day, they were ſtill to the windward of us, at about two leagues diſtance, and bore up to us; we, having a freſh gale, put into the cape, and, when they were come within a good cannon-ſhot of us, they plied us very tightly with their great guns, and then approached within a muſquet-ſhot of us, as believing we were now out of condition to make any long reſiſtance: but, as we had a better advantage of uſing our fuſils, we made ſo great a fire upon them, that they were forced to cloſe up their port-holes, and bear up to the wind. We received ſixty cannon-ſhot this day in our ſides, whereof two thirds were between wind and water; beſides which, all our rigging was torn, and we had two men wounded, whereof myſelf was one.

About two hours within night they made a ſhew of coming to board us, but, finding we were as well prepared to receive them by night as by day, they bore upon the wind: we ſpent ſome part of this night

night at anchor, to ſtop up our cannon's mouths, which otherwiſe might have ſent us into the deep.

We were aſtoniſhed next morning at break of day, that we could not ſet ſight on the two armadilla's, with whom we had made ourſelves ready to renew the fight; and, in all appearance, they grew weary of it before us, though they had ſo great an advantage as that of the wind, which yet, as we heard ſince, could not ſecure them from loſing a great many men, and having their ſhips at leaſt as much ſhattered as ours: ſo that ſuppoſing well with ourſelves, that they had ſteered their courſe to port Callao, we ſteered ours for the iſle of Platta, where we anchored in the evening, and continued there two days to caulker our ſhips.

We had, during theſe ſeveral engagements, brought up upon our decks the governor of Queaquilla, and the other chief officers that were our priſoners, that they might be witneſſes of the vigour with which our men fought, and the cowardice of their own people, who durſt not enter our ſhips, though they came board and board with us twice.

We weighed on the ſixth, and ſailed along the coaſt, that we might find a convenient place to take in water. This coaſt is very level, ſafe, and very good to land upon, which is the reaſon that the ſame is throughout, as far as Barbacoa, inhabited by the Spaniards. We anchored between cape Paſtoa and that of St. Franciſco. On the tenth we put our priſoners aſhore, and gave them their liberty, being not able to go to the point of St. Helen, to ſee whether their ranſom was come, which I ſuppoſe would have been to little purpoſe, for thoſe two armadilla's had been ſent to pay us with cannon-ball.

On the eleventh we went about dividing the gold, precious ſtones, and pearls we had found in Queaquilla; but as theſe things could not be divided,

nor eaſily valued, the gold not being coined, and the ſtones of different value, we put up all by way of auction, that thoſe who had ſilver might bid for them, and ſo every man have his part according as he bade; and as there were ſeveral among us who, having got conſiderable ſums of money at play, were ſure, and if it pleaſed God they ſhould once get ſafe out of theſe ſeas, their way muſt be no other than over land, where the weight of their ſilver muſt hinder or retard their going; they bid for thoſe jewels that kept but little room, and weighed not much, ſo exceſſive a price, that the gold alone that was coined was worth eighty and an hundred pieces of eight an ounce, and each piſtole fifteen of the ſaid pieces: but, though theſe things were ſold ſo dear, we made no more a diviſion of the booty of that town, than what came to four hundred pieces of eight a man; the whole might amount to about five hundred thouſand pieces of eight, or fifteen hundred thouſand livres; which money, as we were out of hopes to carry along with us, ſerved us to play for on board our ſhips for our diverſion: ſo that, in the deſcents we made, we fought now for nothing but gold and precious ſtones, which we did not find ſo plentifully as ſilver; of which, I muſt be plain, we made ſo little account, that we thought it not worth our while to take along with us a great quantity of plate and other things, whereof the town of Queaquilla was full: we alſo neglected to ſend a canoe after the hundred caons of coined ſilver, each conſiſting of eleven thouſand pieces of eight, which the Spaniards had ſent away to the other ſide of the river, when we were engaged with them, and which were yet in ſight of us when the fight was over. There is ſuch a vaſt quantity of that rich metal in this country, that moſt of thoſe things we make in France out of ſteel, copper, and iron, are made

made by them in ſilver; this indifference in us gave ſome of their people many times occaſion to intermix with us, to pillage from their own fellow-citizens what we neglected, and of which they were not ſo ſqueamiſh as we, or rather ſo put to it for the carriage of them, they being in their own country, and we far from ours.

On the twelfth captain David's frigate left us, he deſigning to go and careen at the iſles of Galapas, and then to ſail away for the ſtreight of Magellan, in order to return to the North-ſea; but, as for us, our veſſels were ſo ſmall, and withal ſo bad, that it was impoſſible we ſhould get up higher than the coaſt of Peru; neither could they alſo contain ſuch a quantity of water as we had occaſion for, which is very hard to come by on that coaſt, where you muſt go two or three leagues up the country before you can meet with any. Theſe difficulties made us reſolve to return to the weſtern coaſt, that ſo we might endeavour to find out a way alſo to return to the North-ſea, but that muſt be other than over-land.

Before I leave this coaſt, I cannot but take notice, that Peru is one of the richeſt countries in the world, not only in reſpect to the great quantity of gold and ſilver which the Spaniards dig out of the mines they poſſeſs there, but alſo upon account of the great fertility of the earth, that produceth to the tillers of it three crops every year, as well of corn as wine; and that, beſides thoſe fruits that are peculiar to all America, you have alſo many of thoſe here which grow in France, inſomuch that this great diverſity of species is the occaſion that you have continual ſupplies of freſh fruits in all the ſeaſons of the year.

The inhabitants of this country reckon but two ſeaſons, which divide the whole year into a ſummer of nine months, and a winter of three, during which it freezes oftentimes very hard on the moun-

tains, though the ſame is hardly diſcernible in the plains: amongſt their other cattle they breed ſheep, that weigh two hundred and fifty, or three hundred pounds weight: theſe animals are of great uſe to them, having the very ſame inſtinct as camels. They make them carry jars of water, oil, or wine, which are a ſort of earthen-ware made like ſugar-pans, two of which hold about five-and-thirty quarts, and, when empty, weigh as much as the liquor that fills them: when they are minded to fill them, theſe ſheep will kneel down, and, as ſoon as they are full, get up very gently; when they are come to the place whither they are to carry them, they lay them down in the ſame manner, and continue till they are diſcharged of their burthen.

We weighed on the thirteenth, and on the fifteenth anchored twenty leagues to the windward of Point Mangla; we put aſhore in a canoe, where we ſurprized a watch of fifteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were ſet upon the ſide of a curious river: the entertainment we gave them forced them to own unto us, that they were to guard the river, which they called Emeralda, becauſe of the many rocks, or great-pieces of emeralds which their countrymen take up there; and that we might, in the ſpace of eight hours, go very eaſily from the mouth of it in our canoes, to ſurprize the town of Quitto, but not ſo by land, becauſe then we muſt fetch a compaſs of fourſcore leagues, through a country full of inhabitants, who would not fail to oppoſe us; and for theſe reaſons it was that they endeavoured all they could to keep from ſtrangers the knowledge of theſe advantages: this town of Quitto is well peopled, and was formerly the capital of the kingdom that bears its name, but now it depends upon the government of the vice-roy of Lima.

On the ſeventeenth we got ready and ſaled away for the iſle dell Gallo, which ſtands at the mouth of the little bay of Barbacca, an hundred leagues to the leeward of Queaquilla. On the nineteenth we diſcovered, by break of day, a ſhip whom we chaced, and, towards ten in the forenoon, took her; ſhe was a bark come from Panama to go and buy negroes, which the Engliſh in Jamaica ſend them by the way of Puerto Bello, and which they were going to trade with at Paitas; they got very conſiderably by theſe blacks, for the Engliſh ſell them to the Spaniards for four and five hundred pieces of eight a man, and are worth three and four hundred with them. We anchored on the twentieth at the iſle of Gallapo, where we examined the priſoners we had taken in the ſaid bark, who told us, that the galley of Panama was gone into the bay of Mapalla, in queſt of the Frenchmen that were gone aſhore upon thoſe iſlands, which, I have already ſaid, are there; and that, in her return, ſhe was to carry the preſident of Guatemala and his wife to Panama.

On the twenty-fifth we weighed and ſailed for the iſle Cocos, which ſtands N. and S. of Realeguo, an hundred leagues diſtance: we had a S. W. wind, and ſailed W. N. W. On the thirtieth we diſcovered land, we pinched upon the wind, that we might know what place it was; we found towards evening, it was the iſle of Mapalla, that ſtands forty leagues ſouthwards of that of St. John's, and from thence we ſailed to the bay of Mapalla, inſtead of going to the iſle of Cocas, from whence the wind blew, and conſequently was contrary to us.

From this day forward to the eleventh of July, we had the ſame S. W. wind, which allayed not, but when it blew from the E. and S. On the thirteenth we took our latitude, and found we were thirty leagues out at ſea from Realeguo, and ſteered north

north to get to land: on the ſixteenth at noon we diſcovered the mountains, and put into the cape for fear of being obſerved: on the ſeventeenth we ſent two of our canoes to endeavour to take ſome one priſoner, that ſo we might know how things were before we brought our ſhips into the bay.

In the evening our canoes, having diſcovered what coaſt it was, returned, and told it was St. Michael's bay, whither the currents had driven us in making the cape, and which we took for that of Mapalla, whither we would have gone, and which ſtands fourteen leagues to windward of the former, which might the more eaſily have been miſtaken from the ſea, in that the mountains of theſe two bays are very like one another. We lay by to windward of it in the night; and on the eighteenth put out our canoes, and, continuing at the cape till the twentieth, we made uſe of them to go and join our friends at one of the iſlands: as we entered in on the twenty-third, we were taken with a breeze of wind that ſeparated us from one another; and, of five ſail whereof our fleet conſiſted, we had no more than two of the leaſt and weakeſt of our ſhips left together; but we did not loſe ſight of the other three, though they were got very far to leeward, and overtaken with a calm. In the mean time we anchored at the iſle of Tigers, which is the neareſt to the mouth of it.

On the twenty-fourth about eight in the morning we diſcovered three ſail of ſhips that doubled the point of Harina, which is to the windward of that bay, and ten leagues to the leeward of Realegue; we preſently fired a paterero to call in our canoes who were aſhore to take in water: as ſoon as they were come on board, we made ready and bore up to thoſe ſhips with a full wind, though we had then but very little of it.

Thoſe

Thoſe three veſſels, which were a galley and two periaugues, bore alſo towards us, though they ſaw us not; but, as ſoon as we were got out and diſcovered by them, they doubled the cape upon us with their ſails and oars, and the two periaugues, that ſailed better than the galley, got behind us, and fired fifteen cannon-ſhot upon us; but as our arms could reach them, theſe periaugues were forced to fall a-ſtern, and to wait for their galley: when ſhe had joined them, they held a council, and then put out to attack us; our ſhips, not being able to give us any relief, put to the cape to wait for us; we fought them all along till we had rejoined our veſſels, which we did about two in the afternoon, when the Spaniards left us, to go bury their dead upon the iſland where we had been to take in water when we firſt diſcovered them: they did us ſome damage in our main-maſt and rigging, and wounded few of our men: towards evening a wind aroſe from the ſea, and we ſailed in queſt of them, but they kept to the ſhore.

On the twenty-fifth we paſſed round the iſland in ſearch for our canoes, which the enemies galley ſought for alſo, rightly imagining they were aſhore, as not having ſeen them with us during the action: about two in the afternoon they diſcovered us, and, coming out from under their covert, gave us the ſignal, which we on our part anſwered; they had hid themſelves there for four hours, expecting our coming, and had a full ſight of the engagement, but could not poſſibly, any more than the reſt of our ſhips, come in to our aſſiſtance. The Spaniards, who ſaw us take them with us, durſt not hinder it, though they were at anchor very near them; then we attempted with one of our ſhips to board the enemy's galley, but ſhe ſaved herſelf upon the flats, where our ſhips could not come near her. On the twenty-ſixth we anchored at an iſland in the bay, where

where we put two of our veſſels to careen, while the other three guarded them. On the twenty-eighth we ſaw a canoe under white colours, croſſing from the main land to the iſlands, where one of ours met and took her: it was a Spaniſh captain, who, believing us to be his own people, came to congratulate the commander upon the victory, which he, from the ſhore, thought they had got over us. We put him upon the rack, to know whether he came not by ſome wile or other to draw us into a ſnare laid for us by the galley, as the Greek captain had formerly done; but he ſolemnly proteſted it was not ſo, and informed us, that there was a periaugue with thirty men in the ſame bay where we were, who were gone aſhore ſome time ſince, and had fought in the race of Savannas againſt ſix hundred Spaniards, whoſe captain, called don Albarado, who was accounted the braveſt and moſt valiant man in the province, they had killed; and that, when we had met with their galley and two periaugues, there had eight hundred armed men come, not with a deſign to look after us, but to fight thoſe thirty Frenchmen, who could not be conquered by his ſix hundred countrymen; an admirable inſtance of the valour of the Spaniards in thoſe parts!

The bay of Mapalla is a very curious place, and full of divers great iſlands, not inferior in beauty to thoſe of Panama: they were formerly inhabited, and there are ſtill three boroughs there which the people have forſaken, by reaſon of the deſcents of free-booters. As for anchorage, it is very good here, but no good ſhelter to be found in this place from any corner of the wind, great blaſts whereof come over thoſe great mountains that are at the bottom of it, ſo that there are very few cables that are proof againſt them.

On the ſixth of Auguſt, one of our men, who was hunting upon the iſland where we were careening, found two men who had been there for the ſpace of eight days to obſerve our motions, and, who taking us to be Spaniards, durſt not come near us: they were two Frenchmen belonging to the periaugue, of which the forementioned officer ſpoke to us, and who had defended themſelves ſo valiantly againſt the ſix hundred Spaniards; we found them to be of the number of fourſcore and five, who had ſeparated themſelves under captain Grognet, to go to Calinfornia; they preſently gave notice to the other eight-and-twenty, who came and joined us; and of whom we learned that they had ſaved themſelves upon this iſland, after they had been chaced a whole night by the Spaniſh galley, that did not ſail ſo well as their periaugue. They told us alſo, that they had gone down a matter of forty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, without being able any more than once to go aſhore; and that then they ran a great riſque, ſo boiſterous is the ſea in thoſe parts, wherewith they were ſo diſcouraged, that they had forſaken fifty-five of their companions, in order to come and find us out, and left them to continue their courſe for Calinfornia.

Having made an end of our careening on the tenth, we made every thing ready for our departure, after we had given thoſe thirty men room in our ſhips: we ſailed from the coaſt of Acapulco, with a deſign to find out the other fifty-five men ſpoken of, who were to make a deſcent there, and to fetch them from a miſerable ſtate, whereunto, in all appearance, they had gone to plunge themſelves, without any hopes of reprieve; being too ſmall a company to find out proviſions (whereof they ſtood in great need) in the beſt peopled country upon the continent, where alſo it could not be believed they could

could arrive, having but a little ſorry bark under them, that could not carry them far without ſplitting in two.

We had, at our departure, an eaſterly breeze, wherewith we were favoured till we came to the height of Sanſonnat; from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth we were becalmed all along in the day-time, and the winds were ſo high in the nights, that we could not carry our ſails; on the twenty-ſecond we had a pretty good gale from the ſouth-eaſt; and on the twenty-ſeventh we drew near land, to know where we were: we found ourſelves to the windward of the bay of Tecoantepequa, and put out our canoes to go in thither, while, at the ſame time, we appointed our ſhips to rendezvous in the port of Vatulco, which is twenty leagues to the leeward: we came very near land in the evening, but the ſea runs ſo high along that coaſt, that it was impoſſible to go aſhore.

On the twenty-ninth we found an embarking place, where there was a very ſtrong intrenchment, guarded by a conſiderable number of Spaniards, and, ſuppoſing it would coſt us dear to go aſhore in that place, we ſailed two leagues to the leeward, where the ſea was ſomewhat more pacifick, but found here alſo about three hundred men upon an eminence waiting for us: we detached fifty of ours to go and meet them, but the Spaniards, after having made a fooliſh diſcharge, fled; however, we took two of their number, and aſked them whither that way led upon which we were; they told us, it would bring us to the town of Tecoantepequa, according to whoſe name that bay was called, and that we had but four leagues to it: we lay next night upon the road, under the canopy of heaven, according to our uſual cuſtom; next day, which was the thirtieth, we reſolved to go to the ſaid town,

town, and directed our courſe that way in ſuch a manner, that about two in the afternoon we had a ſight of the place from an aſcent, which is about half a league off.

As it is encompaſſed and beſet every way with eight ſuburbs, it ſeemed to be ſo large, that we were a long time deliberating with ourſelves whether ſo ſmall a number as we were ought to go thither, as being no more than an hundred and fourſcore men, whereas there were three thouſand of the enemy in the place: in the mean time the extreme neceſſity we were reduced to, for want of proviſions, preſſed us to advance, and would not let us deliberate long upon the danger that lay before us, ſo that, all our apprehenſions being reduced to the fear we had of ſtarving to death, we purſued our march to go and confront our enemies.

When we had marched about half an hour, we found ourſelves near the town, and upon the brink of a great and very rapid river, which ſeparates it from four of the ſuburbs that adjoin to it; this river we croſſed over, being up in the water to the middle, in ſpight of the Spaniards, who were intrenched on the other ſide, to diſpute the paſſage with us, which they were forced to leave open for us, after a good hour's ſharp diſpute: as ſoon as we were maſters of the intrenchment, we entered the town, where, after we had fought hand in hand with the enemy, like men enraged with hunger, we became maſters of the place of arms about four in the afternoon: but our work was not yet done, for the enemy, having again intrenched themſelves in a very fine abbey, built in the manner of a platform that commanded the town, we went, to the number of fourſcore men, to diſlodge them, which was ſoon ſpeedily executed, that, having chaced them thence, we made our court of guard of it, and then

every

every one endeavoured to ſatisfy that hunger where-with we were extremely pinched.

When we were got into this town we found it yet much more ſpacious and larger than it appeared to be unto us from the fore-mentioned aſcent; its houſes are well built, the ſtreets very ſtrait, and the churches exceeding ſtately and ornamental. The abbey of St. Francis, from whence we drove the enemy, appeared more like unto a fort than a religious convent, and it was built to ſerve for that uſe in caſe of need.

On the thirty-firſt we ſent to require them to ranſom their town, or elſe we would burn it; we had no anſwer returned, which made us conjecture they had a mind to come and attack us; for which they had ſo much the more advantage, in that the river, which began, from the time that we paſſed it, to overflow, was about to hem us in; wherefore we decamped, and lay in one of the ſuburbs that ſtands on the other ſide, where we continued to the third of September; when we departed to return to our canoes, without reaping any advantage by the taking of this town: we reimbarked on the fifth, and went to join our ſhips in the port of Vatulco, where we arrived the ninth: on the fifteenth we went off again in our canoes without a guide, and, having landed, marched ten or a dozen leagues up the country, where we took divers villages, and in one of them the old governor of Marida with his family, who was retired to this place, and who promiſed us a quantity of proviſions for his ranſom; in expectation whereof we carried him on ſhip-board, where we arrived on the twenty fifth. The ſame day, about ten in the morning, we diſcovered a ſhip, and put out our canoes to know what ſhe was; ſhe bare to the cape, and put up Spaniſh colours; but as the ſea ran very high; and that our canoes could not

not well weather it, we returned again into port. Now this ſhip believed it was her colours that hindered us to come on board her, wherefore ſhe took the ſame down, and put up a white flag in the room of them; we at the ſame time fitted up our galley to go and hale her, but ſhe could never get out of the port, whereupon ſhe ſailed away, and, as our ſhips were much out of order, we could not follow her. She was undoubtedly a frigate built in the North-ſea, but it was impoſſible for us to know what nation ſhe belonged to.

The ſea being calm on the twenty-ſixth, we went with our galley about twenty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, to ſee if the above-mentioned ſhip were not put into port, we judging by her rigging ſhe wanted to put in ſomewhere to land, but we returned without any news of her: we waited till the fourth of November for the ranſom of the governor, which we did not overmuch preſs for, as finding in this port, and parts adjacent, plenty of victuals, particularly of tortoiſes, which we had there in great numbers, and batto's, that are to be met with up and down frequently here, furniſhed us with all other neceſſaries; beſide that, we had here a place of ſecurity from the inſult of the Spaniards.

It is impoſſible to go aſhore from Sanſonnat to Acapulco, unleſs it be in the ports or bays; and though that which they call the Salt-pits be difficult of acceſs, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of it, and that the ſea there runs very high, yet they eſteem it a bay for all that: it is the next you meet with after Sanſonnat, and ſtands twenty leagues to the windward of that of Tecoantepequa, which the Spaniards ſet down alſo for a bay in their charts, though it be ſo far from being deep, that it can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the coaſt: there is a

lake

lake at the bottom of this laſt place bearing the ſame name, with which it had formerly a communication, but whoſe mouth at preſent is ſtopped up by a bank of ſand which the waves have drove thither: this lake hems in three iſlands that are not far diſtant from one another, and all of them very near the mouth thereof: ſome years ſince the hourqua of Acapulco, that went to the Eaſt-Indies, in it's return entered into this lake through the bay, and we underſtood that ſome Spaniards had entered by the other end of it into the river of Vaſtaqua, that diſcharges itſelf into a bay of New-Spain, and conſequently to the North-ſea.

When the hourqua returns from the Philippine iſlands, where the Spaniards drive a great traffick, it is one of the richeſt veſſels that ſails upon the ocean; it is of a prodigious bigneſs, and built ſo ſtrong, that ſhe is afraid of nothing but land and fire; ſhe is provided with forty pieces of cannon, whereof one half is of no uſe to her, for her lading makes her ſink ſo deep in the water, that her battery between the two decks is rendered uſeleſs: ſhe goes out yearly from the port of Acapulco, convoyed with a patach of twenty-eight guns, and laden with ſeveral ſorts of merchandiſes that ſhe carries to the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, who, by way of barter for the ſame, give a great deal of thoſe curious china and japan ware we ſee in Europe, and, what is yet more valuable, pearls, gold-duſt, and precious ſtones.

This ſhip had great advantage in making this voyage, that is, that, in making choice of a proper ſeaſon, ſhe goes and returns in a twelve-month's time, comprehending the while they ſtay in that country, without being put to the trouble of veering about, and ſifting the ſails; and it is beyond diſpute, that ſhe cannot be met with by any that wait for

for her, before the port of Acapulco, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, which I ſhall take no notice of here, for reaſons I have ſpoken of in the beginning of this journal.

I ſhall not forget alſo to remark in this place, that it will be ſo much the more eaſy to take her, in that, when ſhe returns from thoſe parts with the patach, all her crew are in ſo ſickly and dying a condition, that, of four hundred men that make up the compliment, there is not one fourth of them in a condition to defend it; and this diſtemper which they call ſcorbut, never fails them in their return from the Philippines, inſomuch that a ſhip which goes from the North-ſea with a deſign to look after this hourqua, might, in leſs than eighteen months time, abating the perils and accidents ſhe might be liable to at ſea, return with immenſe riches.

About twenty leagues to leeward of the bay of Tecoantepequa ſtands the port of Vatulco, ſo ſmall, that it cannot contain above ten or a dozen ſhips; but yet they muſt have an anchor fore and aft, for, if they had no more than an anchor out at the fore-caſtle, they would fall foul upon another, in endeavouring to avoid it upon the change of wind or tide.

At the entrance into the port, which is very narrow, there is a whirlpool to the leeward, which the Spaniards call Boſadera, whereinto the water enters in ſo violent a manner that it makes a noiſe that may be heard above four leagues off.

Four leagues lower there is another port, where you cannot anchor with ſafety, becauſe of the rocks, whereof the bottom of it is full: in the paſſage to it ſtands a great rock, called the Fourillon, which is all over as well as continually ſo covered with thoſe ſorts of birds which we had before ſeen in the river of Villia, that there remains nothing of the ſurface

ſurface of it to be ſeen; and a little further is an iſland called Sacrifice.

About eight leagues lower there are three ſmall ports of a league's diſtance one from another, whereof that called the Angels is the beſt; it is no difficult matter to find the paſſage to it, provided you ſail along the ſhore, but it is impoſſible to perceive it from the main; there is a rock ſtands at the mouth of it that has an hole therein reſembling a large gate: from this port to Acapulco, which is ſixty leagues off, we have no harbour.

The country, which extends itſelf from the bay of Salt-Pits as far as Acapulco, is that upon the South-ſea that is beſt peopled, and where there are moreover ſeveral famous and very rich towns; more gold mines are alſo found there than in Peru, though the metal is not ſo fine; and thoſe of Tinſigal alone are more valued by the Spaniards than the mines of Potoſi; and therefore it is not without reaſon that this weſtern coaſt is called by the name of Coſta Rica, though, in our geographical maps, they beſtow this name only upon a ſmall part of this vaſt tract of land.

On the ſeventh we went to make a deſcent upon a little town called Muemeluna, which is eight leagues to the windward of Vatulco, and ſix up the country, about four leagues from the ſea-ſide, and two from the town; we found a very ſtrong intrenchment made upon a rock that ſtands upon the river, but the Spaniards therein made no great reſiſtance, no more than in the town where we completed our victualling: the priſoners we took told us, that, about a month before they had ſeen a frigate paſs by, that ſent a ſmall canoe with ſeven or eight men in it to their embarking place, where they found ſome Spaniards, who made them embark again with ſo much precipitation, that one of their men was drowned;

drowned, and whom indeed we found dead upon the ſhore, whither the ſea had thrown him, with his fuſil lying ſome paces from him, which would not have lain ſo long there, no more than the dead carcaſs, if the Spaniards had eſpied it: for they believe themſelves revenged, when they cut into pieces, or burn the dead body of an enemy; and we were aſſured that, when we buried any of our men in their country, they dug them up when we were gone, if they knew the place, for to exerciſe their cruelty upon thoſe carcaſſes, which, when alive, they could not make us feel.

We returned on the ſixteenth aboard our ſhips, and on the twenty-ſixth, not being able all along the coaſt to hear any news of the five and ſixty men we were in queſt of, we weighed anchor, and directed our courſe for the bay of Mapalla, where we were minded to agree upon the place by which we were to repaſs to the North-ſea: on the twenty-firſt we had a north wind that carried us to a certain latitude where the weſt winds reign; and this continued to the twenty-third, when we were becalmed: on the firſt of December, at night, we had a ſtorm which ſeparated us one from another, and thus we continued alone, and without any water, for all our caſks were run out, whereby we were reduced to the greateſt extremity, though we were but two leagues from the ſhore: but it was impoſſible for us to go aſhore, for it is a bank of ſand that reaches from the bar of St. Mark as far as Sanſounat, for the ſpace of about fourſcore leagues, where the ſea breaks with great violence: believing ourſelves on the ſixth to be to the windward of this bank, we armed our periaugue to go near the ſhore, and look out for a place where the ſea was calmer; next day one of our men, being more impatient than the reſt, and egged on with drought, that tormented

him four days, ſwam to land; but, thinking to return in the ſame manner, he was drowned, without our being able to ſuccour him, notwithſtanding all the cry he made unto us to ſave him: on the ninth, in the beginning of the night, we thought to have ſeen a little bay, before which we anchored, that we might know in the morning what it was, during which time we heard the firing of about ſix hundred muſquets on the land. As ſoon as day-light appeared, on the tenth, we ſaw that what we took for a bay was a kind of a covert that ſtands fifteen leagues to the leeward of Sanſonnat, where we could ſee no likelihood of entering in. In the mean time we ſaw a very pretty ſhip upon the ſtocks in that place, which made us conclude there muſt of neceſſity be a paſſage for her to come out; we anchored pretty near the rock to wait for a tide, during which time a wind blew from the ſea, and we adventured with the help of our ſails and oars to get in, where we were ſaluted with three waves that had filled our periaugue in the very ſight of the Spaniards, who watched our entering in.

We put up to one ſide of the ſaid covert, and fired for the ſpace of half an hour upon their magazines built by the ſide thereof, without their returning us one ſingle ſhot; but at laſt, we being tormented with violent drought, which we were deſirous to allay, whatever it coſt us, we hoiſted up our ſail, and run up our periaugue before them, who believing we were going to their town, that was but half a league off, they went off. But as we were no more than two-and-twenty men, inſtead of running after them, we improved their flight, in filling our caſks with water, and to furniſh ourſelves with what proviſions we found in the magazines, and ſome of that ſhip's rigging, which were more neceſſary for ours; but not daring all at once to lade our periaugue with

with them, for fear of ſinking in her paſſage out, we ſpent the night on the other ſide of thoſe magazines, that we might be under covert from the ſurprizes of our enemies, for we computed very well, by the ſix hundred muſquet-ſhot we had heard, that there were a great many armed men in that place.

On the eleventh we departed from under the covert to go and join our ſhip, which we found on the twelfth, in the morning, lying at anchor eight leagues to the windward of Sanſonnat, where ſhe had found the ſea ſomewhat more favourable: we ſpent that day to take in water, and ſent twenty men to take a village that was about half a league from the ſea-ſide, from whence we returned the ſame day with ſome refreſhments, that put life into our ſhip's crew, now much weakened with the thirſt they endured, as well as we who were in the periaugue, as alſo with hunger, which failed not to waſte us away, though we had victuals to ſatisfy the ſame; but we durſt not eat for fear of being made dry: we weighed anchor in the evening with a weſt wind, and on the fifteenth arrived in the bay of Mapalla, where we found the reſt of our veſſels at anchor near one of thoſe iſlands that lie within it.

I am to obſerve, that, as long as we were going up this coaſt, continually in the night-time there blew winds from the land, which were very favourable to ſailors, provided they were not far out at ſea; for ten leagues off there could be but very little of it felt; and there are certain reaſons when it blows ſo violently, that they are obliged to lower their ſails, and even to furl. On the ſeventeenth we had a conſultation together about what paſſage, according to the priſoners relations, was leſs dangerous for us to return to the North-ſea over land; it was thought our beſt way was by Segovia, ſeeing we

had no more than ſixty leagues to go before we came to the head of a river, upon which they told us we might go down to the North-ſea, whereunto it diſcharged itſelf; and that, in the way we were to take by land, we could have no more than five or ſix thouſand men to deal with, and that the way was very good to carry our wounded and ſick men along with us: but we were not fully convinced of the ſincerity of this advice; we ſent two of our canoes to ſhore, to take ſome other priſoners, that ſo we might ſee whether they ſhould confirm or contradict this information, and thereby be the more fully inſtructed concerning thoſe things that might be an obſtruction to our paſſage, and others that might facilitate the ſame.

We went aſhore on the eighteenth, to the number of ſeventy men, and marched all day long without meeting one ſoul, as we did alſo the next day till noon, without any more diſcovery than in the preceding one, wherewith we were ſo fatigued, that we reſolved to return back again; and here we may add, that the greateſt part of our men were not over-content to repaſs by land to the North-ſea, becauſe of the five or ſix thouſand men wherewith we were threatened, wherefore we left thoſe that were minded to return to their canoes, and eighteen of us, who found ourſelves leſs weary than the reſt, ſtaid behind: we followed a great road which we met with ſoon after they had left us, and had not walked above an hour, when we took three horſemen, who, when we had aſked where we were, told us, that about a quarter of a league off there was a little town called Chiloteca, wherein there were four hundred white men, beſides negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, and aſſured us we had not been yet diſcovered. We had a mind to run after our men to acquaint them with this account,

account, and engage them to go back with us to the town; but the apprehenſions we were under of being diſcovered, and thereby giving the inhabitants time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, hindered us to do ſo, and made us undertake, perhaps, the boldeſt, moſt reſolute, and, if you will, the raſheſt action that could be thought of; which was, that being no more of us than eighteen men, as I have ſaid before, we ſhould adventurouſly enter that town, where we ſurprized and frightened the Spaniards to that degree, that we took the tenient and other officers, to the number in all of fifty perſons, including the women priſoners: they were ſeized with ſuch a panick fear, ſuppoſing us to be far more numerous than we were, that all the reſt would doubtleſs have been taken and bound by us, had it not been for their horſes, which are always at hand, which they mounted to ride away upon. And ſo it was as we would have it, for if they had had courage to ſtay behind, they might have cut out work for us, whereof we had already but too much, which was to watch our priſoners.

We aſked the tenient where the galley of Panama was, who made anſwer, ſhe lay at anchor in the embarking place of Carthage, which is Caldaira, where ſhe waited for us, as hoping we would paſs that way to go to the North-ſea, and that the king of Spain's ſhip, the St. Lorenzo, was in the port of Realeguo, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and four hundred men on board, to hinder us from coming near that place, which they began to ſettle in again: as we had a deſire to lie in this little town where we now were, we farther aſked him what number of men we ſhould have occaſion for to guard us, if we ſhould ſtay there; he told us, there would be ſix hundred men next day there, but that they had no more fire-arms than for two hundred.

The Spaniards, who during this time were a little recovered of their aſtoniſhment, being got together, entered into the town again; and after we had ſeveral times conflicted with them, we intrenched ourſelves in the church, where we had put our priſoners; who, ſeeing us go in with precipitation, believed their people purſued us cloſe, and were juſt upon falling on us; which made them ſo bold, as to run to the ſwords and other arms we had got together, wherewith they wounded us one man. We preſently got to the doors, and from thence fired upon them ſo long, till there were no more than four men and their wives left alive of them: at the ſame time we mounted the horſes which we had taken, and, with our four priſoners of each ſex, went away with as little noiſe as we could, which the other Spaniards obſerving, they ſent one to treat with us; but we refuſed, and fired upon him, for fear, if he came too near us, he ſhould come to know how few we were. Next day, which was the twentieth, we rejoined our other people, who had reſted themſelves at an hatto they had met with in their return, and who gave us aſſiſtance againſt ſix hundred of thoſe Spaniards who followed in the rear of us; then we gave the women priſoners their liberty. On the twenty-firſt we went on board our canoes, and next day reached our ſhips, where we interrogated our four new priſoners concerning the paſſage we had projected; but they laid ſo many difficulties before us, that we grew almoſt out of conceit with it: but yet, when we conſidered we muſt either make our way through, or end our days miſerably in an horrible want of all convenient neceſſaries, and in an enemy's country, where we grew weaker every day by the loſs of our men, we reſolved to hazard all to get out of it: inſomuch, that being no longer daunted at the dangers we were in

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in this paſſage, and being perſuaded it would be better for us to die with our ſwords in our hands, than to pine away with hunger, we made all things ready for this journey; and to the end we might cut off from the moſt timorous any deſires they might have to return to their ſhips, if their minds ſhould alter in reference to their going along with us, we ran our veſſels aſhore, except our galley and periaugues, which we reſerved to carry us off the iſland where we were to the continent.

On the twenty-fifth we formed four companies, conſiſting of ſeventy men each, making all together two hundred and fourſcore; and as for the forlorn hope, we agreed for to draw out ten men out of each, and to relieve them every morning: we alſo made a contract among ourſelves, that thoſe who ſhould be lamed in the encounters we might have with the enemy in our way, ſhould have the ſame recompence as formerly, that is, a thouſand pieces of eight a man; that the horſes we ſhould take, ſhould be divided between the companies for the eaſe of all our men, and for thoſe that were incommoded above any of the reſt: that thoſe that ſtraggled and ſhould be lamed, ſhould have no recompence made them, and that violence, cowardice, and drunkenneſs ſhould alſo be puniſhed as formerly.

Before I leave theſe ſeas, I will ſpare the reader the trouble of aſking how we came to endure ſo much hunger, miſeries, and fatigues in theſe parts, ſince I have ſaid upon ſeveral occaſions, that the country is ſo good and pleaſant, as well as fruitful in the production of all things neceſſary for the ſupport and comfort of human life; as to this, there needs no more than obſerving, that, ſince our ſeparation from the Engliſh at the Iſle of St. John, we were all along ſo ill accommodated with ſhipping, that we were forced to keep continually to the coaſt, and by con-

ſequence in ſight of the Spaniards, who, diſcovering even the leaſt motions we made, had almoſt always time to remove all their effects out of the way, before we made our deſcent, and left us nothing but what they could not carry away, which was many times very inconſiderable; whereas, had we had but one good ſhip to put out far to ſea, they could not have diſcovered us, and we ſhould have ſurprized them continually in our deſcents, where we could have wanted nothing, not only that was neceſſary, but alſo pleaſurable, beſides the wealth we muſt have carried away in a ſhort time.

This want of ſhipping, under which we laboured, was ſo advantageous to our enemies, and the conſequence thereof they knew ſo well, that the people of Peru ſent no more ſhips to the weſtern coaſt where we were, for fear ſome of them might fall into our hands, and traded with one another no otherwiſe than by land.

The ſame reaſon alſo hindered us to go up to the coaſt of Peru, where we could not have failed of having ſhips, ſeeing they ſailed up and down there every day, and drove a great trade with one another, as knowing we were not ſo near unto their country; ſo that it is eaſy, from what I have remarked, to conjecture, that for want of theſe helps, which were of ſo much importance to us in theſe ſeas, we muſt alſo very often ſtand in need of all theſe things, which we could not but with the greateſt difficulty have without them; wherefore, to make any thing of it in theſe climates, and to raiſe a conſiderable fortune, without much danger and ſufferings, there needs no more than to be provided with a good ſhip, and, for the better conveniency, victualled for ſome time, that ſo there may be no neceſſity of going aſhore to ſeek it.

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On the twenty-ſeventh we diſcovered a ſhip paſſing along between the iſlands, which made us ſend our galley and periaugue to ſee what ſhe was; ſhe put up a white flag, but as ſoon as we came within muſquet-ſhot of her, ſhe took down the white flag, and put out Spaniſh colours, and withal gave us ten or a dozen guns; we returned to the ſhore to give our people notice of it; not doubting, but if that ſhip came to an anchor in the ſame place, ſhe would deſtroy our periaugues: we ſent them with our baggage and priſoners up to the flats that are behind the iſland where we were.

This veſſel, about noon, came in with the tide, and anchored within half a cannon-ſhot of ours that were run aſhore, under the covert of which we fought againſt them with two pieces of cannon till it was night; but as the enemy had no other aim than to ruin our ſhips, they put them this firſt day out of a condition to ſail, which was what ourſelves had a mind to, and then put farther off from the ſhore.

On the twenty-eighth in the morning they drew nearer again, and began to fight us, which made us ſhelter ourſelves behind the points of the rocks that run out into the ſea, from whence our arms carried aboard them; upon this they were forced to ſend their ſhallop under the favour of their cannon, to take away an anchor that was nearer to ſhore than their ſhip; but being prevented therein, they cut off the cable that held it, and put off again; at laſt, concluding with ourſelves that this ſhip would not leave us ſo haſtily, we ſent an hundred men in the evening to the continent before us, that they might endeavour to take ſome horſes, on which we might lay our diſabled men, with orders afterwards to return and wait for us upon the ſea-ſide in the ſame place where they went aſhore (which was a kind of a port we had aſſigned them) in caſe they had re-

turned before our arrival there: and for fear the Spaniſh ſhip ſhould ſuſpect, from the running of ours aground, the deſign we had to go to the North-ſea, and that the men on board her would ſend to the continent to give the people notice to put themſelves in a readineſs to hinder us, we counterfeited all night long the caulking of our ſhips, that ſo we might fully poſſeſs them with a belief that we were careening them, which wrought ſo effectually upon them, that in the morning they failed not to come up, to deſtroy with their cannon the work they fancied we had been doing during the night.

On the twenty-ninth their ſhip took fire, which made them put farther off, where they extinguiſhed it: on the thirtieth we made uſe of a new ſtratagem to amuſe our enemies, and take away all manner of ſuſpicion from them that we deſigned to be gone, which was to charge our guns, granadoes, and four pieces of cannon, whereunto we tied lighted matches of different lengths, that ſo, having their effect in our abſence one after another, the Spaniſh ſhip's crew might ſtill believe we were upon the iſland, from whence we parted in the twilight, as ſecretly as ever we could, with all our priſoners, whom we reſerved for no other uſe than to carry our ſurgeon's medicines, carpenter's tools, and the wounded men we might have in this paſſage.

On the firſt of January, in the year 1688, we arrived on the continent; and, on the evening of the ſame day, the party which we had ſent before to look for horſes, came thither likewiſe: they had taken ſixty-eight with ſeveral priſoners, who, without any violence offered them, told us, they did not think it adviſeable we ſhould travel through Segovia, becauſe the Spaniards had intelligence, we had made choice of that province to paſs through; but as we had already

already reſolved upon the matter, and that our ſhips could be of no longer uſe unto us, all that they could ſay to the contrary, did not hinder us to perſevere therein. All our people, at the ſame time, packed up every man his charge, and put their ſilver into bags, which they thought they could carry with their ammunition: thoſe who had too much of the former, gave it thoſe who had loſt theirs at play for to carry, conditioning with them, that they ſhould return the one half back to the owner, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to bring them ſafe to the North-ſea.

As for myſelf I muſt ſay, I was none of the worſt provided, and though my charge was lighter than others, yet it was not for all that leſs conſiderable for the value, ſeeing I had converted thirty thouſand pieces of eight into gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. But as the beſt part of this was the product of luck I had at play, ſome of thoſe who had been loſers as well in playing againſt me as others, being much diſcontented at their loſſes, plotted together, to the number of ſeventeen or eighteen, to murder thoſe that were the richeſt amongſt us. I was ſo happy as to be timely advertiſed of it by ſome friends, which did not a little diſquiet my mind; for it was a very difficult taſk for a man, during ſo long a journey, to be able to ſecure himſelf from being ſurprized by thoſe who were continually in the ſame company, and with whom we muſt eat, drink, and ſleep, and who could cut off whom they pleaſed of them, in the conflicts they might have with the Spaniards, by ſhooting us during the hurry, which yet they executed in another manner, as may be ſeen in due place: the apprehenſions I had of this conſpiracy did not hinder me to retain ſo much judgment and preſence of mind, as to fall preſently upon ſuch methods as I thought moſt rational

and ſecure for the preſervation of my life, and which effectually ſaved it, which was to depoſit ſome of what I poſſeſſed in the hands of divers perſons, and that in the preſence of all the reſt, upon condition they ſhould reſtore unto me ſuch a proportion as I agreed with them for, when we were come upon the coaſt of Domingo. By this means I rid myſelf of the care I ſhould continually have had of keeping upon my guard, without expoſing them much who carried my effects, the which being divided diverſly, and to different perſons, they had to do with too many people to compaſs their ends. It is true I paid dear for this precaution; but what will not a man do to ſave his life?

CHAP. VI.

The return of the Free-booters from the South to the North ſea, over the continent, by another way than that by which they got thither.

ON the ſecond day of January, in the morning, after we had ſaid our prayers, and ſunk our periaugues, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have any benefit of them, we ſet out, and lay that night by the ſea-ſide; we ſtopped next day about noon at an hatto to bait: on the fourth we lay upon a platform that extends itſelf upon the tops of ſeveral high mountains, where the Spaniards, notwithſtanding all the precautions we had taken, were advertiſed of our departure, and failed not to let us have their company, keeping themſelves always in our flanks and rear.

On the fifth we lay at another hatto belonging to the tenient of Chiloteca, about which place the enemy began to barricade the ways: we reſted on the ſixth for an hour and better at an eſtancia to bait; and

and upon a bed, in a hall there, we found the following letter directed unto us, in theſe words:

'WE are very glad that you have made choice of our province for your paſſage through homewards; but we are ſorry you are no better laden with ſilver; however, if you have occaſion for mules to carry your baggage, we will ſend them to you; we hope to have the French general Grognet very quickly in our power, and we will leave you to conſider what is like to become of the ſoldiers.'

We ſaw clearly by this letter, that they knew nothing of the death of Grognet, ſince they believed he was ſtill our commander; and that they had no knowledge of him, but by the account that had been given them by the three men that had run away from him to them, when they failed of getting the gold of the mines of Tinſigal.

On the ſeventh we met with an ambuſcade of the enemy, whom our van-guard forced to retire, and lay in the evening at an hatto: the Spaniards, who left no means unattempted to deſtroy us, burnt all the proviſion that was in our way, and alſo when we entered into any ſavannas, where the graſs was very dry, they went to the windward of us to ſet it on fire, whereby we were very much incommoded, and our houſes were even ſtifled with the ſmoke: as we were ſometimes obliged to ſtay till the fire had burnt up all, to go forwards, this very much retarded our march; and this was the chief thing the Spaniards aimed at that the men might have leiſure to finiſh a retrenchment, whereof I ſhall quickly have occaſion to ſpeak, which they erected unknown to us at ſome diſtance off from our road, to which alſo the work they cut out for us to remove the barricadoes of trees, where-

wherewith they had encumbered the way, contributed very much; inſomuch that, not being able to penetrate into their deſigns, we perſuaded ourſelves that they did all this with no other intent than to chagrin us only, as being not able to do worſe unto us, or I ſhould have rather ſaid, having not the courage for it.

On the eighth we paſſed on to a very fine ſugar-plantation, and as we were very deſirous to take ſome priſoners who might inform us of what was done, all our company filed off, and twenty of us ſtaid behind in a houſe, after they had ſet it on fire, to oblige the Spaniards to come and put it out, when they ſaw our men at a diſtance from them, and this they failed not to do: but our impatience being the means of diſcovering of us too ſoon, they thereupon fled; yet we, firing upon them, wounded one, and took him, by whom we underſtood that all their reinforcements were coming together to diſpute our paſſage, and that we were going to meet them that came from Tinſigal, who conſiſted of three hundred men.

When we had done with this wounded man, we rejoined our main body, who had halted to wait for us, and then jogged on till we came to a great borough, where we found thoſe three hundred men, who afterwards were our continual guard, for they gave us, morning and evening, the diverſion of their trumpets; but it was like the muſic of the enchanted palace of Piſcha, who heard it without ſeeing the muſicians, for ours marched on each ſide of us, in places ſo covered with pine-trees, that it was impoſſible to perceive them.

We lay this evening about a quarter of a league from the ſaid borough, upon an aſcent, according to our uſual manner, who never encamped but upon high ground, or in the race of ſavannas, for fear of being

being hemmed in. We decamped on the ninth in the morning, after we had reinforced our advanced guards with forty men more, who were appointed to fire their muſkets at the entries or avenues of the woods, that we might have a ſight of the Spaniards, in caſe they laid any ambuſcades for us: in the mean time, about ten in the morning we paſſed on to a place that was ſo thin ſet with wood, that we might ſee a conſiderable diſtance from us, and, ſeeing no enemy appear, we did not fire at all: but we did not dream that we were ſeeking for that far before us, which we had at the ſides of us; for the Spaniards, who were ranged to the right and left of our way, lying on their bellies, made their diſcharges with ſo much precipitation, that there was no more than one half of our advanced guard who had time to anſwer their firing. They killed us two men preſently, who were turned out of the way, to paſs undiſcovered of the enemy; after which we went to refreſh ourſelves in a little town that was in our way, and lay half a league beyond it.

We met with another ambuſcade on the tenth, wherein we were beforehand with our enemies, and made them leave us their horſes; then went to bait at another borough, and lay a little farther.

On the eleventh, as we drew nearer unto the town of Segovia, we met with a new ambuſcade a little on this ſide it, and when we had forced them with our fuſils to retire, we went into the ſaid town, being reſolved and diſpoſed to fight ſtoutly, as believing, if the Spaniards were minded to try us, they would uſe their greateſt effort in that place; but they contented themſelves with firing only a few muſquet-ſhot at us from under the covert of ſome pine-trees that grew upon the aſcents which encompaſs the town, whither they were retired: we found nothing there to eat, becauſe they had burnt all the proviſion in the place.

By

By good luck we took a priſoner to conduct us to the river we ſought for, and which was ſtill twenty leagues off; foraſmuch as thoſe who had been our guides as far as Segovia knew not the way any farther.

This town lies in a bottom, and is ſo ſurrounded with mountains, that ſhe looks as if ſhe were laid up in priſon; the churches here are very indifferently built, but the place of arms is both very conſiderable and very fine; it is an inland place forty leagues off from the South-ſea. The way that leads to it, from the place where we were, is very difficult, being all mountains of a prodigious height, to the tops whereof we muſt creep with great danger, and the vallies conſequently are ſo very narrow here, that for a league of even ground you paſs over, you have ſix leagues of mountains to go: when we had paſſed theſe mountains we felt a very ſharp cold, and were taken with ſo thick a fog, that, even when day appeared, we could not know one another no otherwiſe than by our voices; but that laſted not till above ten in the morning, when the weather cleared up, and the fog went entirely off; and the heat, which ſucceeds the cold, becomes there very great, as well as in the plains, where none of this cold is felt, till you come directly to the foot of the mountains. Thus were we forced to endure ſuch contrary ſeaſons, as well when we travelled, as when we repoſed ourſelves, that they expoſed us to very great inconveniences; but the hopes of getting once into our native country made us patiently to endure all their toils, and ſerved as ſo many wings to carry us.

On the twelfth we departed from this town, and went up other mountains, where we had incredible trouble to clear the ways of thoſe works the Spaniards had prepared to barricade them up with; we went to lodge in an hatto, where they fired very much in the night into our camp.

On

On the thirteenth, an hour before ſun-riſing, we mounted along an eminence that ſeemed to us to be an advantageous place to encamp on; from whence we ſaw, upon the edge of a mountain from which we were ſeparated but by a narrow valley, twelve or fifteen horſes, which we took for ſome time for cattle that fed there, whereat we much rejoiced, as being in hopes we ſhould next morning have good cheer at the coſt of theſe animals; and that we might be the more aſſured of the matter, we ſent forty men thither, who told us at their return, that what we took for beeves were all ſaddled horſes, and that they had obſerved three retrenchments in the ſame place, about piſtol-ſhot one from another, which, raiſing by degrees towards the middle of the ſame ſide of the mountain, fully barricaded the way through which we were to paſs next day, and commanded a ſmall ſtream that ran along the ſaid valley, into which we muſt neceſſarily deſcend firſt, there being no other way, nor any likelihood of our going on one ſide thereof. They ſaw alſo a man, who, as ſoon as he diſcovered them, ſeverely threatened them with his cutlaſs, which he held naked in his hand.

Theſe ſad tidings was a mighty allay to our joy, and the transformation of thoſe pretended beeves, on whom our pining appetite had depended ſo much, affected us to a great degree; but theſe thoughts were at preſent to be laid aſide, to make room for to conſider how we ſhould diſentangle ourſelves from that place, and that without delay, becauſe the Spaniards, who were gathering together from all the adjacent provinces, would quickly fall upon our ſmall company, who muſt of neceſſity be overborne by them, if we ſtaid for them: the means to effect this were not eaſily found, and perhaps it would have appeared an impoſſible thing to any other than ſuch as we were, who, till then, had been ſucceſsful almoſt

moſt in all our undertakings; and to be plain in the matter, we found ourſelves now hard put to it: for, as I obſerved to the reſt of our people, ten thouſand men could not be able to force their way through that intrenchment without being cut to pieces, as well becauſe of the advantage of the place, as the number of Spaniards that defended it, which we might compute by that of their horſes; and ſeeing a ſingle man could hardly paſs on one ſide of it, there was no likelihood we ſhould be able to do it with our horſes and baggage, ſo rough was the country: and indeed, ſaving the road itſelf, all the reſt was no other than a thick foreſt, without either ways or paths, full of ſharp rocks in ſome places, of quagmires in others, and embarraſſed with a great many trees that had dropped down to the ground with age: and though after all we ſhould have found out a way to eſcape a-croſs ſo many obſtacles, there was ſtill an indiſpenſable neceſſity that we ſhould fight with the Spaniards, that we might be at quiet for the reſt of our journey. This they all agreed to; but as they objected unto me, that it was to no purpoſe to repreſent theſe difficulties, which of themſelves were but too apparent, without propoſing ſome method to ſurmount them, nor to give counſel without facilitating the execution thereof, I told them, that, for my part, I could not ſee what elſe we could do, but go croſs thoſe woods, precipices, mountains, and rocks, how inacceſſible ſoever they appeared to be, and endeavour to ſurprize the enemy in the rear, and to gain the advantage of the ground from them by getting above them, where ſurely we were not expected; and that I would anſwer for the ſucceſs of the ſame at the peril of my life, if they would undertake it: that as for our priſoners, horſes, and baggage, wherewith we were incumbered, we ought not to leave them defence-

leſs,

leſs, to the diſcretion of thoſe three hundred men, who always kept cloſe to us in our march, and encamped every evening about a muſket-ſhot off: that we ought to leave fourſcore men to guard them with all neceſſary precaution, as you will hear by-and-by, and that ſuch a number was enough to fight with ſo many Spaniards four times told.

We took ſome time to deliberate hereupon; and at length theſe expedients, how hazardous ſoever they were, being found the moſt ſuitable to the condition we were in, and I may ſay, the only ones we had left us, we reſolved to lay hold of them, and put the ſame in execution.

Scarce had we projected the deſign, and conſidered the aſcent where we were, the ſituation of the oppoſite mountain where the Spaniards had made their retrenchments, but that above the higheſt of them we ſaw a road, which we took to be the continuation of that which they had ſhut up againſt us, and, turning to the right, went winding about the ſide of the ſame mountain; which yet we could not diſcover but with difficulty, and by lights peeping in between the trees, which would allow us to ſee but ſome traces at a diſtance from one another.

As we had not hitherto reſolved upon which ſide to pitch, in order to get behind thoſe intrenchments, whether the right or left, this way decided that point, being well ſatisfied, that if we could but once croſs it, it would bring us directly upon the enemy: but yet, that we might not engage ourſelves inconſiderately in this enterprize, where all things went for us, we ſent twenty men, while we had any daylight left, to a place that was ſomewhat higher than that where we were, to cover another party, whom we had known by experience to have been very ingenious and expert upon ſeveral occaſions, that ſo they might pitch upon thoſe places by which we might, in the night,

night, the more eaſily get up as far as that road, thereby to go and charge the enemy in the rear by break of day..

As ſoon as our men were returned, and gave us an account of what they had obſerved, we made all things ready for our departure; but we firſt made that ſtation, we were leaving, a place of arms, where we left our baggage, all the priſoners we had, and fourſcore men to guard them, and this, that the three hundred Spaniards, who continually followed us, as well as thoſe who were behind the retrenchments, might be perſuaded we had not left our camp; and we gave the officer that commanded order to make every centinel he ſet, or relieved in the night-time, to fire his fuſil, and that he ſhould beat the drum at the uſual hour: we told him, moreover, that, if God gave us the victory, we ſhould ſend a party to bring him off, and that, if, about an hour after he heard the firing at an end, he did not ſee any body from us, he ſhould provide for his own ſafety as well as he could.

Things being thus diſpoſed, we ſaid our prayers as low as we could, that the Spaniards might not hear us, from whom we were ſeparated but by the valley we have ſpoken of: at the ſame time we ſet forward, to the number of two hundred men, by moonlight, it being now an hour within night; and about one more after our departure, we heard the Spaniards alſo at their prayers, who, knowing we were encamped very near them, fired about ſix hundred muſkets into the air to frighten us; beſides which, they alſo made a diſcharge at all the reſponſes of the litany of the ſaints which they ſung. We ſtill purſued our march, and ſpent the whole night (in going down, and then getting up) to advance half a quarter of a league, which was the diſtance between them and us, through a country, as I have already

already ſaid, ſo full of rocks, mountains, woods, and frightful precipices, that our poſteriors and knees were of more uſe to us than our legs, it being impoſſible for us to travel thither otherwiſe.

On the fourteenth, by break of day, as we were got over the moſt dangerous parts of this paſſage, and had already ſeized upon a conſiderable aſcent of the mountain, by clambering up to it in great ſilence, and leaving the Spaniards retrenchments on our left, we ſaw their party that went the rounds, who, thanks to the fogs that are very rife in this country (as I have already ſaid) till ten o'clock did not diſcover us. As ſoon as they were gone by, we went directly to the place where we ſaw them, and found it to be exactly the road we were minded to ſeize on: when we had made an halt for about half an hour to take breath, and that we had a little daylight to facilitate our march, we followed this road by the voice of the Spaniards, who were at their morning prayers, and we were but juſt beginning our march, when unfortunately we met with two out-centinels, on whom we were forced to fire; and this gave the Spaniards notice, who thought of nothing leſs than to ſee us come down from about them upon their retrenchment, ſince they expected us no other way than from below: ſo that thoſe who had the guard thereof, and were in number about five hundred men, finding themſelves on the outſide, when they thought they had been within, and conſequently open without any covert, took the alarm ſo hot, that, falling all on upon them at the ſame time, we made them quit the place in a moment, and make their eſcape by the favour of the fog.

This ſo much unexpected morning muſick diſturbed the whole œconomy of their deſigns, and ſo thwarted their whole contrivance, that thoſe of the other two retrenchments drew all without the

lowermoſt, where they prepared to defend themſelves; we fought with them a whole hour from under the covert of the firſt retrenchment which we had got of them, and which exactly commanded them, becauſe of its elevated ſituation upon the mountain: but, as they gave no ground, we began to think that the ſhot we diſcharged did not reach them, becauſe of the fog which hindered us to diſcover them, and that we could not fire but according to the diſcharges that came from them; ſo that, being reſolved to loſe our aim no longer, we advanced, and fell directly upon the places from whence they fired: there we fought them ſtoutly, and they did not quit the place, till ſuch time as they ſaw the butts of our muſkets, and that near them, the ſight whereof the miſt had till then taken from them: but then, being much terrified, they left us all, and ran that way which was before their retrenchments, which proved very incommodious for them, becauſe, that being the only place by which they thought we could come at them, they had cut down all the trees that grew there, and in the adjacent parts, as well becauſe they might obſtruct their ſight in this bottom, as hinder us to come on under the covert of them: and thus the precaution which they had taken againſt us, by a quite contrary effect was turned upon themſelves, inſomuch that we had ſo clear a view of them from the retrenchments we had taken, that we did execution almoſt with every piece we ſhot. We purſued them after that for ſome time, ſtill beating them; but at length, being weary both of running and killing, we returned to the retrenchments where the five hundred men, whom we had put to flight at firſt, being come back, endeavoured to break in upon thoſe whom we had left to guard them, but we made them, like the reſt, quickly run away.

We

We were alſo fatigued mightily in purſuing of them; for, beſides that the ground was ſo extraordinary bad and hard to paſs, they alſo augmented the difficulties by making uſe of the trees which they had felled down to barricade and ſtop up even the leaſt avenue that was near the place round about.

We found theſe Spaniards had ſo little mind to give us quarter, if they ſhould have the upper hand of us, that even when we took any of them, they would not as much as aſk it at our hands, and to ſome of them we gave quarter in ſpight of their teeth, though they did otherwiſe all that ever they could to ſave themſelves out of our hands: but at this no man ought to wonder; for it is a maxim amongſt them in theſe parts, and whereof we have had experience upon ſeveral occaſions, whether it proceeded from pride, or natural fierceneſs of temper, or becauſe of an oath they take before their commander before they go to fight, that they will never ſubmit to aſk quarter of thoſe to whom they have ſwore they would give none: but we in the mean time, being affected with compaſſion upon ſight of the great quantity of blood we ſaw running down into the rivulet, ſpared the reſt, and went a ſecond time into our intrenchments, having loſt all this while but one man, and two only wounded. The Spaniards, among others, loſt their general, who was an old Walloon officer, who had given them the plan of this retrenchment, that would infallibly have prevailed againſt us, had we attacked them by the way they expected. In the mean time another old captain had adviſed him to ſecure their rear, but he ſaw ſo little likelihood of danger on that ſide, that he anſwered, we muſt be either men or devils; that, if we were men, he defied us to get over any way in eight days time; but if we were devils,

though he ſhould take never ſo much care of himſelf, he muſt ſtill be taken.

However, at the ſolicitation of the ſaid officer, he ſent a party that way to go the rounds, and to poſt the two centinels we ſpoke of, as they thought moſt convenient. The general being ſearched, there were ſeveral letters found in his pockets, which had been writ to him by the governors of the province, that ſet forth particularly the number of men they had ſent him; and one, among others, from the general of Coſta Rica, who expreſſed himſelf as follows:

A letter written by the general of the province of Coſta Rica to the commander in chief in the retrenchments. Dated January 6, 1688.

'SIR,

'I THOUGHT I had made a good choice, when I committed to you the conduct of an affair 'which ought to re-eſtabliſh our reputation, if you 'have the better of the enemy, as you induce me to 'believe you will; I was preparing to ſend you 'eight thouſand men, if you had not ſent me word 'that fifteen hundred was enough. I do not doubt 'but a perſon that hath ſerved ſo long as you have 'done, will take care of your men, eſpecially ſince 'you have to do with a people from whom there 'will no honour redound to you by over-doing 'them.

'According to the relation you have given me of 'your retrenchments, it is impoſſible but thoſe peo'ple, with the help of God, muſt be deſtroyed; I 'adviſe you to put a thouſand men into them, and 'two hundred near unto the river, by which they 'hope to get unto the North-ſea. In caſe any of 'them ſave themſelves croſs the mountains, don Ro'drigo Sarmado, the new governor of Tinſigal,

'ought

'ought to be at the head of three hundred men, to 'fall upon the rear as ſoon as ever they are en- 'gaged, for certainly their baggage muſt be there. 'Take good meaſures, for thoſe devils have a cun- 'ning and ſubtlety that is not in uſe amongſt us.

'When you find them advance within the ſhot of 'your harquebuſſes, let not your men fire but by 'twenties, to the end your firing may not be in 'vain; and, when you find them weakened, raiſe a 'ſhout to frighten them, and fall in with your 'ſwords, while don Rodrigo attacks them in the 'rear. I hope God will favour our deſigns, ſince 'they are no other than for his glory, and the de- 'ſtruction of theſe new ſort of Turks; hearten up 'your men, though they may have enough of that 'according to your example; they ſhall be re- 'warded in heaven, and, if they get the better, 'they will have gold and ſilver enough, wherewith 'theſe thieves are laden.'

After we had ſung the Deum upon the field of battle, by way of thanks unto God for this victory, we mounted ſixty men on horſeback to go and give notice to our other people of the ſucceſs the Almighty was pleaſed to give us. We found them ready to begin another engagement againſt the three hundred Spaniards, whereof we have ſpoken; who, as ſoon as they heard that action at the retrenchments begin, and ſaw how few men we had left behind in our camp, were eaſily induced to believe we had made our attack by that diſadvantageous way I have ſpoke of, as ſuppoſing it impoſſible for us to do it in any other place, and that therefore our ruin muſt be inevitable; inſomuch that, inſtead of entering directly into the place, which, conſidering their number, they could have carried in a moment, they had ſo little courage, that they contented themſelves to ſend an officer to our men that guarded the bag-

gage, to parley with them, whom they ſtopped for a time, in expectation of ſome news from us, that ſo they might return an anſwer conformable to the intelligence they received. And thus the platform I had laid, whereon to ground the ſufficiency of fourſcore of our men for that work, or rather the cowardice of the enemy, was fully confirmed.

They told us, that, as ſoon we had begun the fight, thoſe three hundred Spaniards advanced a little, and, having got upon an eminence that commanded our camp, they alighted, and ſent them the ſaid officer to make the following harangue to them.

'I come hither from my general; you ſay, you 'do not queſtion but you have force enough, and 'that you are men of courage, which you have 'let us know whenever you have been minded to 'make yourſelves maſters of our country; yet you 'are not to doubt but the great numbers of men 'we have got together, will [illegible] you. We 'are to let you underſtand, there are a thouſand 'men in that retrenchment againſt whom they are 'gone to fight, where they are worſted; that we 'are three hundred men in this place, and that two 'hundred are poſted near to the river you go and 'ſeek, to wait for thoſe of you who eſcape out of 'the fight: wherefore, if you will give yourſelves 'up priſoners of war into the power of our general, who is a man of honour, we will be friends, 'and we will let you paſs to your own country: 'but as to thoſe of your men whom ours have taken alive, their almoner, yeſterday after prayers, 'begged quarter for them, for the honour of the 'holy ſacrament, and glorious Virgin, which has 'been promiſed unto them.'

Our men, hearing him talk at this rate, were already ſomewhat alarmed, as fearing what he ſaid

was

was true; but, as ſoon they ſaw us come at a diſtance, they took courage, and returned him as fierce an anſwer, like men who had no fear upon them, to this purpoſe.

'Though you had had force enough to deſtroy 'two thirds of our number, we ſhould not fail 'ſtill to fight with the remaining part; yea, though 'there were but one man of us left, he ſhould fight 'ſtill againſt you all.

'When we put aſhore, and left the South-ſea, 'we all reſolved to paſs through your country, or 'die in the attempt; and though there were as 'many Spaniards of you as there is graſs in this ſa-'vanna, we ſhould not be afraid, but look upon you 'always in our opinion cowards, and we will paſs on, 'and go where we will in ſpight of your teeth.'

The officer, being diſmiſſed upon our arrival, mounted his horſe to return from whence he came, and obſerving we were booted, and mounted upon his companions horſes, who guarded the retrenchments, he ſhrunk up his ſhoulders by way of amazement, and rode as faſt as he could to carry the news to his own party. As ſoon as he was got to them, who were not above a muſket-ſhot off, we advanced, and fell upon them, to put them out of condition all at once to follow us any more: we received their firſt firing, to which we made no return, otherwiſe than with our piſtols and cutlaſſes, and that unhappily for them who had not yet got upon their horſes, for we cut a great many of them to pieces, inſomuch that, God crowning all the advantages we had had in the reſt of our engagements by the ſucceſs we had in this laſt, we let the reſt go, detaining only their horſes; and when we had broken all their arms, we, with our baggage, rejoined our main body, who ſtaid ſtill upon the place to guard the retrenchments. We had no more than

one man killed in this engagement (as it was in the other) and two maimed.

We aſked ſome of the priſoners whom we had taken ſeveral queſtions, and they told us, among other things, that we ſhould ſtill meet with another retrenchment upon the road, about ſix leagues diſtant from thoſe we quitted, which made us fear, with very great reaſon, leſt the fugitives ſhould go and poſſeſs themſelves of it with a deſign to diſpute our paſſage once more: and indeed we ſaw fire upon the top of a great mountain, which they had made for a ſignal to gather their ſcattered troops together, and thoſe who, out of the fear they were in, might perhaps hide themſelves for eight days together, had it not been for this, as believing us ſtill at their heels: but we prevented their deſign, for we lay two leagues from thence to cut off their paſſage, there being no other way than this by which they might get thither, and whoſe ſides were ſtill leſs acceſſible the farther you went on, that they were behither the ſame. We had cut the hams of nine hundred of their horſes before, that ſo they might be made unfit to purſue us; we took much about the ſame number of them with us to eaſe our journey, till we came at the river we were in queſt of, and to kill and ſalt them upon our arrival, that ſo they might ſerve us for food in that long paſſage.

On the fifteenth we paſſed by the forementioned retrenchment, which was not yet finiſhed, without any reſiſtance (this proceeding in all appearance from the terror which the noiſe of our victory had ſtruck into the people) and lay at an hatto three leagues beyond it. On the ſixteenth we lay at another ſix leagues farther; and at laſt, on the ſeventeenth, which was the ſixteenth day ſince our ſetting out, we came to the ſo much deſired river, and preſently entered into the woods that grow upon the banks

banks thereof, where every one fell to work in good earneſt to cut down trees to build piperies, wherein we might go down the ſame.

Some perhaps may think that theſe were ſome commodious veſſels, wherein to carry us with eaſe down the river, but there was nothing leſs than that in it. What we called piperies were four or five ſtocks of one kind of tree, which they called Mahot; it is a light floating ſort of wood, which, after we have taken off the bark, we join and tie together, inſtead of cords, with a ſort of lines that grow in theſe woods and cling like ivy unto every thing that is near them, and eſpecially to trees, to the height whereof they mount; and when theſe pieces are ſet together, they put two or three men upon them, according to the bigneſs of the pipery, and this is all the equipment we make thereof.

The ſureſt poſture we can find ourſelves to be in, is to ſtand upright thereon, though they ſink two or three feet under water; and you may judge by what follows, whether the continual apprehenſions of danger we were in were well or ill grounded.

We built ours no bigger than to hold two men, that ſo they might the more eaſily paſs between thoſe very narrow rocks we foreſaw, by thoſe that already preſented themſelves to our view, we muſt meet with before we got unto the ſea-ſide. When this pretty flota was in a condition to put out, we dragged it to the river-ſide, after we had furniſhed ourſelves with long poles, to keep us from being driven too violently upon the rocks, where we were apprehenſive we ſhould be carried by the violence of the ſtream, as it came alſo frequently to paſs.

This river ſprings in the mountains of Segovia, and diſcharges itſelf into the North-ſea at Cape Gracias a Dios, after having run a very long way in a moſt rapid manner croſs a vaſt number of rocks of a

prodigious bigneſs, and by the moſt frightful precipices that can be thought of, beſides a great many falls of water, to the number of at leaſt an hundred of all ſorts, which it is impoſſible for a man to look on without trembling, and making the head of the moſt fearleſs to turn round, when he ſees and hears the water fall from ſuch an height into thoſe tremendous whirlpools. In ſhort, the whole is ſo formidable, that there are none but thoſe who have ſome experience, can have right conceptions of it: but for me, who have paſſed theſe places, and who, as long as I live, ſhall have my mind filled with thoſe riſques I have run, it is impoſſible I ſhould give ſuch an idea hereof, but what will come far ſhort of what I have really known of them.

It was therefore upon this dangerous river that we went down, ſuffering ourſelves to be carried along at the will of the ſtream, in theſe pitiful machines, whereof the greateſt part was under water, as has been ſaid before, two or three feet, inſomuch that we were almoſt always up to the middle therein: but this was nothing in compariſon of the rapidity of it, which many times hurried us, in ſpight of all the reſiſtance we could make, into the publings of foaming water, where we now and then found ourſelves buried with our pieces of wood, which made many of our men tie themſelves thereon, as being in hopes the wood, that floated, would bear them up ſtill upon the water; but in this, ſome of them were miſtaken.

But as for thoſe great falls, they had, to our good fortunes, at their entrance and goings out, a great baſon of ſtill water, which gave us the opportunity to get upon the banks of the river and draw our piperies aſhore, to take off thoſe things we had laid on them, which, as wet as we were, we carried with us, leaping from rock to rock, till

we came to the end of the fall, from whence one of us afterwards returned to put our pipery into the water, and let her ſwim along to him who waited for her below: but if he failed to catch hold (by ſwimming) of thoſe pieces of wood, before they got out of the paſſon below, the violence of the ſtream would carry them away to rights, and the men muſt then be neceſſitated to go and pick out trees to make another.

We thought at our ſetting out to go down the water all together, to the end that, in caſe of any accident, one might give aſſiſtance to the other; but at the end of three days, when I knew the danger we expoſed ourſelves to in this way of ſwimming together, which had already been the occaſion of our loſing many piperies, I ſet myſelf againſt the deſign of our continuing thus together, by demonſtrating to all our men, that now we had no Spaniards in theſe parts to conflict with, but only the difficulties of this dangerous river, it was convenient on the contrary to allow every crew of us to advance a little before the other, and to keep, as it were, in a line ſucceſſively; and ſo, in caſe the firſt were carried (as indeed it came to paſs) by the violence of the ſtream upon the rocks on the brink of the water, whereof the river is full in an infinity of places, they might have time at leaſt to get off before the arrival of the next pipery, which had already wrought ſo much diſorder by the wrecks that had been occaſioned by their falling foul on one another, that all of us were in manifeſt danger of periſhing.

I afterwards found, as well as ſeveral others of our people who had made trial hereof, that this foreſight was not uſeleſs to us; for my pipery happening to be caſt upon ſuch a place, I was forced to untie the pieces of wood, and to ſtraddle upon one

piece, while my companion did the ſame upon another, and ſo leave ourſelves to be carried down in this manner, at the pleaſure of the ſtream, till it pleaſed God that we ſhould meet with a place, as we did indeed, that was not ſo rapid, where we could go upon the bank of the river, which we could not have done, if others had immediately followed us. I alſo adviſed, that thoſe who went down firſt ſhould take care to ſet up in the moſt dangerous places a flag or banner at the top of a long pole, that ſo we might diſcern it afar off, not ſo much to give notice to thoſe who were hindermoſt, that there was a fall in ſuch a place, for theſe would make themſelves to be heard almoſt a league off, but to ſignify to them what ſide they were to put to land, which ſhould be that where the flag ſtood. Theſe methods being put in practice, ſaved the lives of a great many men, though, for all theſe precautions, ſeveral were alſo loſt.

The many bananiers which we found along the the banks of this river, was almoſt the only food that kept us from ſtarving; for our arms being continually wet, and our powder all ſpoiled, we could not poſſibly go a hunting, though there is very good game there; for as to the horſe-fleſh which we had ſalted, we were forced to throw it away in two days time, for it could not keep in the water any longer.

Theſe bananiers have partly been planted by the Indians who dwell along the ſides of this river, and partly by the overflowing of the waters, which, having dragged them along, and then left them dry, took root again, and ſo have multiplied.

Some days after we found, when we began to go down the river, ſome carbets of an Indian nation called Albaouins, whom we chaced to get their victuals; there are a multitude of others, who dwell

farther

farther from the brink thereof on the oppoſite ſide to the former, and thoſe of the one bank have neither war nor commerce with thoſe of the other.

It was in this place that thoſe of our men, who had loſt their money by gaming, put their cruel deſign in execution, and where I came to know that the warning formerly given me was too true: for theſe wretches being gone before, went and hid themſelves behind the rocks that are upon the brink of this river, by which we muſt neceſſarily paſs. As every man endeavoured to ſave himſelf as well as he could, and that for the reaſons already given, we went down the river at a diſtance one from another, and without any miſtruſt; they had but too much time and conveniency to pick out and murder five Engliſhmen, whom they knew to be ſome of the beſt furniſhed with booty, of which theſe aſſaſſins entirely deprived them. My companion and I found their bodies upon the river's ſide; and I muſt freely confeſs, that ſuch a ſpectacle would have ſtruck no ſmall terror into me, if I had been ſtill the bearer of my winnings; I bleſs God with all my heart, that inſpired me with a deſign to quit my treaſure, being then expoſed in going down the river, as I was laſt after the Engliſh, to the treachery of thoſe villains, where I muſt infallibly have run the ſame riſque as they had done. None of our people knew any thing of this murder; but when we were got all together farther down, I told them what I had ſeen, which was fully confirmed, as well by the abſence of the dead men, as by that of the aſſaſſins, who durſt not come and rejoin us, and whom we never ſaw from thence forward.

On the twentieth of February we found the river larger, and more ſpacious than before, and met with no more falls therein; but the ſame was ſo incumbered with trees and bamboes, which the floods car-

ried thither, that our wretched machines could not be kept from overturning; but the depth of the water in these parts being a means to moderate the rapidness of it, there were not many drowned.

At last, when we were gone down some leagues farther, we found the river very good, the stream very gentle, and no likelihood of our meeting any more rocks or trees, though we had still above sixty leagues to the sea-side. Wherefore, now finding ourselves freed from those perils and dangers which we had been exposed to in such terrible places, where death, in the most frightful shape, presented itself continually to our view, every one began to resume fresh courage, and conceive good hopes of the remainder of the voyage; insomuch that, being now all of us assembled together in the same place where those who had gone before staid for them that came after, and that we had now before us how we should go quite through with the rest of our voyages, we agreed to divide ourselves into several companies, each consisting of sixty men, to build canoes out of Mapou wood, which sort of trees grow in great numbers upon the banks of the said river.

Having, with wonderful diligence, finished four canoes by the first of March, for the use of an hundred and twenty men that were of us in one canton, we put them into the water, and embarked thereon, without staying for an hundred and forty more, who were finishing theirs; the ardent desire we had to be, as soon as possible, satisfied, whether we should really be able to reach the North-sea, egged us mightily to put on; for, according to the idea we had conceived of our passage, we were apprehensive of being carried back into that of the south, as not being able to think we could be so happy as to recover the sight of a sea, by which we might

might be carried home to our native countries, and which we had for ſo conſiderable a time longed for.

The Engliſh, who would not make any canoes, had got in their piperies before us to the ſea-ſide: here they met with an Engliſh boat from Jamaica, at anchor, whom they were very forward to preſs, to go and aſk leave of the governor of that iſland for their ſafe coming thither, becauſe they had gone out without any commiſſion; but that veſſel being unwilling to go thither, without they laid down 6000l. Sterling by way of advance, and they being not in a condition to run the hazard of ſuch a ſum, becauſe many of them had loſt their money, as ſeveral amongſt us had done, which they would have carried with them, by the overſetting of the piperies, they laid with the Mouſtick Indians, that dwell ſome leagues to the windward of the mouth of this river, and who are very kind to them, becauſe of the trinkets they bring them from Jamaica.

Thus, that boat proving to be of no uſe to theſe Engliſh, they politickly bethought themſelves to ſend us word hereof, as hoping we in acknowledgment of this kindneſs, would obtain leave of the governor of St. Domingo for them to retire, and be protected in that iſland. This news we received by two Mouſtick Indians, whom in a boat they ſent to meet us forty leagues up the river, and who told us, that there ſhould no more than 40 men only come down, becauſe that ſhip could contain no more by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of it, and its ſcantineſs of proviſion: but, for all this, the 120, that made up one of our companies, went down together, for every one pretended to be of the number of the ſaid 40.

Though this river we are now leaving is by ſome Spaniſh maps made to run directly 80 leagues, and

then to fall into the North-ſea, yet we have computed the ſame to run above 300, being almoſt always carried to the ſouth-eaſt for to go to the north.

We happily arrived on the ninth at the mouth of the river, at cape Gracias de Dios, and entered into the ſea, which with much ſatisfaction we knew to be that of the north, where we were obliged to wait for the Engliſh ſhip that was at the iſles of Pearls, which are a dozen leagues diſtant from that cape to the eaſt; here we ſtaid till the fourteenth with the Mulaſters that live in theſe parts, and who fed us for ſome days with fiſh.

This cape which ſtands on the continent, hath been inhabited for a long time by theſe Mulaſters and negroes, both men and women, who have greatly multiplied there ſince a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Guinea, frighted with their fathers, was loſt by coming too near the ſhore, which is very dangerous in theſe parts: now, thoſe who had eſcaped the ſhipwreck were courteouſly received by the Mouſtick Indians living about this canton, who were well pleaſed with the loſs of that ſhip, and of the Spaniards, their enemies, that were in it.

Thoſe Indians aſſigned their new gueſts a place to grub up, where they built themſelves cottages in the fineſt country of Savanna's, that reach along the river from the mouth of it for five or ſix leagues upwards. Here, for their ſuſtenance, they plant maiz, bananiers, and magniots, which the Indians gave them; they alſo taught them to make a moſt nouriſhing ſort of drink, which they call Hoon; they prepare the ſame of a fruit that is produced on the top of a kind of a palm-tree, which grows naturally in theſe woods, and never exceeds ten feet in height; each of theſe trees bears no more than one bunch of grapes, but moſt of them are a full load for one man: its grain is of the ſame form and thickneſs as

an olive: ſome of them are yellowiſh, others reddiſh, and containing, in a very hard ſtone, an exceeding oily kernel: they pound the fruit, ſtone, and kernel all together, boiling the ſame afterwards in water; and this makes up the compoſition: when the ſame is grown cold, or but luke-warm, they put what quantity they are minded to drink into a calabaſh pierced through with ſmall holes like unto a ſkimmer; this drink, beſides that it is very nouriſhing, and fattens very much, is alſo a pleaſanter liquor than any that is to be met with amongſt the other Indians, the ſame being only peculiar to this nation.

The Mulaſters are all a very tall people, and go altogether naked, ſaving their privy-parts, which they cover, nature having provided for them upon that account a kind of greyiſh ſtuff, which they pull from a tree called a baſtard-palm, the top of whoſe ſtock is wrapped up in ſome fathoms of it, from the firſt riſing of its branches ſome feet downwards, according to the thickneſs of each of theſe trees: this ſtuff is alſo a great help to them to make coverlets, wherewith to cover them in the night; and ſome of thoſe people, who live more at eaſe, wear ſhirts and drawers, which the Engliſh bring them from Jamaica. They are the boldeſt people in the world for expoſing themſelves to the perils of the ſea, and undoubtedly the moſt expert in the art of fiſhing: they will commit themſelves to the waves in theſe little boats, or ſuch like, which an able ſeaman will ſcarce venture to do; and here they will ſtay for three or four days together, being no more concerned, let the weather be what it will, than if they were made of the ſame piece as their boat; and provided they can but once ſet ſight on the fiſh, though ſwimming never ſo low in the water, they will not fail

fail to take him, ſo dexterous are they at this work.

They many times do our Free-booters a kindneſs, when they take them on board with them, upon condition of letting them have a ſhare of what booty is got, which muſt be exactly performed unto them for if you deceive them, you muſt never expect their aſſiſtance; and this temper is peculiar almoſt to all the Indian nations in theſe parts, that they will never go again, when once you have broke your word with them.

The ancient Mouſticks, who gave theſe men I have ſpoken of entertainment, live about ten or twelve leagues to the windward of Cape Gracias a Dios, in thoſe places they call Sambay and Sambey: they are very ſlothful, and neither plant nor ſow but very little, and lie all day on their Amacks, which are a kind of moving beds in their Ajoupas or Barracks, while their wives wait upon them in every thing as far as they can ſerve them; and when they are preſſed with hunger, they go a fiſhing in their boats, at which they are alſo very ſkilful, and, when they have taken any, they eat them, and go not out any more till hunger returns upon them again.

As for their cloathing, it is neither larger nor more ſumptuous than that of the Mulaſters at the cape. There are but a few amongſt them that have a fixed abode, moſt of them being vagabonds, and wandering along the river-ſide, and having no other houſe to ſhelter themſelves in but a latanier-leaf, which they manage ſo, that, when the wind drives the rain on the one ſide, they turn their leaf againſt it, behind which they lie, and this ſkreens them againſt the weather: when they are inclined to ſleep, they dig a hole in the ſand, where they lie, and then cover themſelves therewith; and this they do to keep themſelves from the ſtinging of the Mouſticks, wherewith the air is generally very full: they are little flies, that are

are ſooner felt than ſeen, and have ſo ſharp and venemous a ſting, that, where they alight, they ſeem to have fiery darts wherewith to prick men. Theſe poor people are ſo tormented with thoſe miſchievous inſects, when they ſee them not, that their bodies appear like lepers; and I can aſſure it for truth, as knowing the ſame by my own knowledge, that it is no ſmall pain to be attacked with them; for, beſides that they cauſed us to loſe our reſt in the night, it was then that we were forced to go naked for want of ſhirts, when the troubleſomeneſs of theſe animals made us run into deſpair, and ſuch a rage, as ſet us beſides ourſelves.

When theſe Indians go a journey, though never ſo ſhort, they take their wives, children, dogs, and fawns, which they breed tame, all along with them: it is a cuſtom I have obſerved to be held among all the Indian nations on the terra firma of America; and theſe I ſpeak of live as brutiſhly as any of the reſt, yet they are not ſo cruel and ſavage, becauſe of the ſociety they have with the Engliſh, who have no other aim than to endeavour to bring them under, and maſter their country, where they have a great many habitations already.

On the fourteenth the veſſel, which I ſaid was gone to the iſles of Pearls, arrived at the place where we were, and came ſcarce to an anchor, but we all crowded to go on board, becauſe we were to draw lots who ſhould embark; but about 50 of us for all that, being more vigilant than the reſt, made a ſhift to enter her; who, thinking it unadviſable to go ashore again, to commit to chance a thing we were already in poſſeſſion of, and for to prevent a greater number from entering in, we being already piled as it were on the top of one another, we weighed anchor and departed.

The

The maſter would have carried us to Jamaica, but we not knowing how matters ſtood between France and England, whether it were peace or war, engaged him to carry us to St. Domingo, for 40 pieces of eight a head: we went to take in water at the iſle of Pearls, and on the ſixteenth left the ſame. On the ſeventeenth we doubled the iſland Catalina or Providence, as the Engliſh call it, where the Spaniards had formerly a very fine fort and ſmall town, which were taken by the French and Engliſh, under the colours of the laſt. On the eighteenth we went to croſs the channel though it blew a ſtrong eaſterly breeze. On the twenty-fourth we came to land at Los Jardinos, which are a great many ſmall iſlands near unto that of Cuba: and on the twenty-ninth we took in water at port Portilla (in the iſle of Cuba) which is not inhabited. On the thirtieth we anchored to the S. S. E. of the borough of Baracoa, in the ſame iſland, where we ſurprized the hunters belonging to that place, whom we obliged to ſell us the victuals they had took by giving them their own price for it: but this our liberality towards them proceeded from another cauſe, and that was, that we were uncertain whether our nation was at peace or war with the Spaniards, ſince we had no intelligence here or from any French country, how things went with them.

On the ſixth of April we touched at Nippas, which is a ſmall borough on the coaſt, 7 leagues diſtant from Petit Guavis, that ſo we might hear ſome news of our own country, while we rode at anchor there. There were ſome of our people ſo infatuated with the long miſeries we had ſuffered, that they thought of nothing elſe but the Spaniards, inſomuch that, when from the deck they ſaw ſome horſemen riding along the ſea-ſide, they flew to their arms to fire upon them, as imagining they were enemies, though we aſſured them we were now come among thoſe of our

own nation. We left this port on the fourth, and went to anchor in the port of Petit Guavis, from whence we had departed almoſt 4 years before; and before we came near the fort, I went to Monſ. Dumas, the king's lieutenant, to require him to grant us protection and indemnity in the governor Monſ. de Caſſy's abſence, by virtue of an amneſty the king had been pleaſed to ſend to thoſe that made war upon the Spaniards ſince the peace, which being concluded on ſince our departure, it was impoſſible we ſhould come to know it in ſuch remote places, and where we were thought to have been entirely deſtroyed.

Laſtly, when we were got all aſhore to a people that ſpoke French, we could not forbear ſhedding tears for joy, that, after we had run ſo many hazards, dangers, and perils, it had pleaſed the Almighty Maker of the earth and ſeas, to grant a deliverance and bring us back to thoſe of our own nation, tha at length we may return without any more ado t our own country; whereunto I cannot but farthe add, that, for my own part, I had ſo little hopes of ever getting back, that I could not for the ſpace of 15 days take my return for any other than an illuſion, and it proceeded ſo far with me, that I ſhunned ſleep, for fear, when I awaked, I ſhould find myſelf again in thoſe countries, out of which I was now ſafely delivered.

A RE-

A

RELATION of a VOYAGE

MADE BY THE

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREE-BOOTERS,

On the Coaſt of Guinea, in the Year 1695.

WITH A

Deſcription of the Kingdom of CAPE LOPEZ, the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Religion of the Country.

A LETTER to Monſieur ———

'SIR,

'A RELATION of the voyage made by captain Montauband, commonly called Montauban, is at laſt come to my hands, and I have ſent you the ſame in print: there is no doubt, but you will admire, as well as I, how much his prudence and courage have been inſtrumental to deliver him from many unhappy accidents, where another muſt have infallibly periſhed. You will remember, as ſoon as you begin to read, to have ſeen ſome of his men at Bourdeaux, in the year 1694; from thence it was he departed the following year to undertake the voyage you are here preſented with. He gave chace to ſeveral ſhips he met with in his

'way; he fought with a frigate carrying thirty-four 'guns, at Cape Verde; he met with an Engliſh 'ſhip of twenty guns, at Cape St. John, which 'he took in a ſhort fight; after which he took a 'Brandenburgh caper, and ſailed away for Angola. 'Near the ſhore he met with an Engliſh guard-ſhip, 'being a fr[illegible] carrying fifty-four pieces of cannon: 'this ſhip he fought five or ſix hours, and both of 'them very bravely boarded one another; and as 'he was about to make himſelf maſter of the ſaid 'ſhip, the Engliſh captain ſet fire to his powder, 'and ſo both the ſhips blew up into the air with a 'terrible crack.

'You will have the pleaſure to contemplate, in 'the perſual of this book (as if you ſtood upon the 'ſea-ſide) this tremendous ſhipwreck; as alſo ſee 'how the Sieur de Montauban, together with 'fifteen or ſixteen of his men, were ſaved. He ſuffered 'hunger for above three days together, and at laſt 'arrived at Cape Lopez, from whence he went to 'viſit the king of that country, of whoſe court and 'kingdom he has given us here a deſcription: he 'ſpeaks alſo of his reception, and advances a project 'how to ſettle the Roman Catholick faith in thoſe 'parts: he ſtood for ſurety at the baptizing of a 'ſon of prince Thomas, the foreſaid king's ſon. 'He went on board a Portugueſe ſhip in order to 'his paſſage to Europe: an Engliſhman, that was his 'friend, took him aboard his veſſel, and carried him 'to Barbadoes, where he was confined to his cham-'ber by colonel Ruſſel, who was governor of thoſe 'iſlands: he was freed from thence, and went to 'Martinico, where he ſaw M. de Frontenac, general 'of the French iſlands. From thence he got into 'France, being very uncertain whether he ſhall return 'to ſea again. But, ſir, all theſe adventures are 'ſet forth in ſo natural and eaſy a ſtile, that you

'cannot

'cannot but infallibly obſerve the ſincerity and 'generoſity of the author. It is true, our ſea-far-'ing men are not ſo polite as thoſe who live on 'ſhore; and that proceeds from want of ſociety 'and converſation: but to make amends for that, 'they are an hundred-fold more ſincere than the 'other. And thus, ſir, do not think a fair-ſpeaking man 'will impoſe upon you: for myſelf, I have ſeveral 'times heard Montauban, in perſon, give a relation 'of this ſame voyage, but I could never obſerve 'that he varied in any one thing at any time; and 'the free and generous air wherewith he delivered 'thoſe brave actions he has performed in fight, would 'perſuade you of the truth of what he hath related. 'It is not for any oſtentation that he has written 'this account; he has in the very beginning thereof 'declared openly enough, that he had no other end 'in doing it, than to give a miniſter of ſtate an 'account (as he calls it) of his campaign. In ſhort, 'if you are dubious in reſpect to the fight where 'the Sieur de Montauban was ſhipwrecked, you 'may recollect yourſelf, and find you have read the 'ſame in the gazettes of September and October this 'preſent year.

I am, Sir, your moſt humble

'and moſt obedient Servant,

'B——'

RELATION of a VOYAGE MADE BY THE Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREE-BOOTERS,

On the Coaſt of Guinea, in the Year 1659.

SINCE I have ſo often felt the malignant influences of thoſe ſtars that preſide over the ſeas, and by an adverſe fortune loſt all that wealth which with ſo much care and trouble I had amaſſed together, I ſhould take no manner of pleaſure in this place to call to mind the misfortunes that befel me before the concluſion of the laſt campaign, had not deſire of ſerving ſtill both the public and particular perſons, as well as to let his majeſty know the affection and weddedneſs I have always had for his ſervice, made me take pen in hand to give M. de Phelipeaux an account of ſuch obſervations as I have made; wherein he may alſo find with what eagerneſs I have penetrated to the remoteſt colonies of our enemies, in order to deſtroy them and ruin their trade.

I was not willing to ſwell up this relation with an account of all the voyages I have made, and all the particular adventures that have befallen me on the coaſts of New Spain, Carthagena, Mexico, Florida, and Cape-Verd, which laſt place I had been at twenty years ago, having begun to uſe the ſeas at the age of ſixteen.

I could alſo have added hereunto the campaign I have made in 1691, when, being commander of the ſhip

ſhip called the Machine, I ravaged the coaſts of Guinea, entered into the great Serelion, and took a fort from the Engliſh, where they had four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, which I cauſed to be ſplit, that they might be of no farther uſe unto them.

But I am deſirous to confine myſelf to give an account of my laſt voyage, becauſe it is the neareſt, and that which is yet freſh in the memory of the public; notice and ſome information having been given thereof by the noiſe made in France and elſewhere, of the burning of my ſhip, and the terrible crack it made in the air.

In the year 1694, after I had ravaged the coaſt of Caracca, I went up to the windward towards St. Croix, where I underſtood that there were ſome merchants ſhips, with a convoy, to come from Barbadoes and Nevis, and bound for England; and upon the ſame information I reſolved to ſail up to the height of the Bermudas, hoping to take this ſmall fleet, and ſo to make a good booty of it. I was ſcarce got thither, but that I ſaw them appear, and ſailing directly towards me, without any apprehenſions of danger upon them: but I preſently attacked their convoy, called the Wolf, and took her, with two more of the merchant ſhips laden with ſugar, the reſt having made their eſcape during the fight. As I was carrying my prize into France, I met with another Engliſh ſhip of ſixteen guns coming from Spain, and bound alſo for England, that after a ſhort fight ſtruck, and which I carried to Rochel, where the admiralty judged the ſame to be good prize. When I had ſold this ſhip, I carried my three other veſſels to Bourdeaux, where I arrived in September 1694; and theſe laſt being alſo condemned as good prizes, I made it my buſineſs preſently to find out merchants that would buy them.

In

In the mean time, my freebooters, who had not ſeen France of a long time, finding themſelves now in a great city, where pleaſure and plenty reigned, were not backward to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues they had endured, while ſo long abſent from their native country. They ſpent a world of money here, and proved horribly extravagant. The merchants and their hoſts made no ſcruple to advance them money, or lend them as much as they pleaſed, upon the reputation of their wealth, and the noiſe there was throughout the city of the valuable prizes whereof they had ſhares: all the nights they ſpent in ſuch divertiſements as pleaſed them beſt, and the days in running up and down the town in maſquerade, cauſing themſelves to be carried in chairs, with lighted flambeaux, at noon-day, of which debauches ſome died, while four of my crew fairly deſerted me: ſo that now, ſeeing I loſt my men, notwithſtanding all the care I had taken, and ſtrict injunctions I had laid upon them, I thought it adviſeable for me to be gone from thence as ſoon as I could, that I might keep the reſt together.

In the firſt place I ſupplied the room of thoſe whom I had loſt with as many Bourdeaux young men, who in a ſhort time became as expert as the old ones; for you are to obſerve, I made it my continual care and buſineſs to teach my men to ſhoot; and my ſo frequent exerciſing of them rendered them in a ſhort time as capable of ſhooting and handling their arms, as the oldeſt ſea freebooters, or the beſt fowlers by land.

When I had victualled my ſhip, that carried no more than thirty-four pieces of cannon, I left Bourdeaux in the month of February 1695, with an intention to go and cruiſe on the coaſt of Guinea in Africa. I got up to the Azores, which are thirty-ſeven degrees north latitude, and cruiſed thereabouts for

for the ſpace of eight days without any purchaſe: from thence I paſſed to the Canary Iſlands, which are in twenty-five degrees north latitude: we diſcovered the Pike of Teneriff a great way off, which they ſay is the higheſt mountain in the world. They report theſe mountains had their names from dogs, which the Latins call Canes, and which the Portugueſe found here in great numbers upon their firſt arrival. I cruiſed round about them for fourteen days, in expectation of meeting with ſome Dutch ſhips which I was informed were to come that way, and it proved to be really ſo; for the ſaid ſhips came thither, but they got into the port before I could reach them; and this made me ſail away for the White Cape, and the Iſles of Cape Verd, that are between fourteen and eighteen degrees north latitude. Upon my arrival there, I found two Engliſh ſhips lying at anchor in the road of the iſle of May, which made me put out my ſhallop to know what they were, and the ſame informed me that they were two interlopers, carrying about thirty guns each. I reſolved to board and take them; to this end I lay by to come nearer them; but as we bore upon one of the points of this iſland, theſe ſhips did not think fit to tarry for my coming up; but ſmelling my deſign, they made all ready, and left their cables and anchors in the road, at which their ſhallops lay.

I purſued them all day; but night coming on I loſt ſight of them, and returned to the road from whence they were gone, in order to take away the cables and anchors, and to ſink the ſhallops faſtened by them. When I had ſo done, I ſailed away for the iſle of St. Vincent, to caulker my veſſel in that place, and to take in water and wood. This iſland alſo is one of thoſe of Cape Verd. Here I ſtaid for the ſpace of eight days, at the end whereof, underſtanding by a Portugueſe bark that there were

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two Engliſh ſhips carrying from twenty to thirty guns, at the iſle of Fugo, one of which was refitting there, becauſe of a fight ſhe had been engaged in with ſome other ſhips: I preſently weighed anchor and ſailed away for the ſaid iſland, which is not far diſtant from that of St. Vincent, being in hopes to meet with the enemy in that place; but upon my arrival, I underſtood by a Portugueſe, that they were gone away four or five days before, in the night, without ſaying any thing of the place whither they were bound, from the ſaid iſland of Fugo, or Fire-Iſland. I thereupon ſteered my courſe for the coaſt of Guinea, and firſt diſcovered the Cape of Three Points, where I met with the guard-ſhip, which was a Dutch frigate, carrying thirty four guns, and cruiſed out at ſea. She quickly diſcovered me, and made directly towards me, in order to know what I was: as I had alſo on my part perceived her, and was in hopes to come cloſe and fight her, I hung up Dutch colours, that I might not frighten her away, but give her an opportunity to come within cannon-ſhot of me. When I ſaw her near enough, I put up French colours, and gave her a ſignal to ſtrike; but inſtead thereof ſhe, without any more ado, very bravely gave me a broad-ſide, and at the ſame time received one from me. We continued to fight one another in this manner from morning till four in the afternoon, without my being able to get the weather-gage, or come up near enough unto her, to make uſe to any purpoſe of my fuſils, which are the chief arms in ſuch ſhips as ours be; nor to hinder her, by the favour of the wind which ſhe had of me, to go and anchor under the fort of the Cape of Three Points, where there were two Dutch ſhips more fitted out for men of war, one whereof carried fourteen, and the other twenty-eight pieces of cannon. I preſently thought theſe three ſhips had

joined together, in order to come out and fight me, which made me lie by thereabouts for a whole day in expectation of them. I anchored alſo within a league of the ſhore, hoping at length that they, being ſpighted at my inſulting them in this manner would be eager for revenge: but all this to no purpoſe, and in all appearance the [illegible] had already found herſelf ſo ill-treated, that ſhe had no occaſion for a ſecond fight. A ſmall Portugueſe ſhip, that paſſed by ſoon after, told me theſe ſhips were the ſame that had forced the Sieur Rey, captain of the king's flute called the Deep, to leave that coaſt; which alſo was confirmed afterwards unto me by the Sieur Rey himſelf at Prince's-Iſland, where I met him.

Seeing therefore that the enemy would not fight, and conſidering with myſelf it was not adviſable for me to attack them under the cannon of the fort, I reſolved to go to Cape Lopez, and to Prince and St. Thomas iſles: in my paſſage I diſcovered Cape St. John, that ſtands off the continent of Guinea, as well as the Cape of Three Points, and I happened to meet with an Engliſh ſhip of twenty guns, and that had three hundred and fifty negroes, elephants teeth, and wax on board it, which did not coſt me much pains to take her. The captain told me he was come from Ardra, where he had taken five hundred and fifty negroes on board, but that they had ſlain ſome of them, becauſe they had mutinied againſt his ſhip's crew; and that ſome more of them had made their eſcape to land in his ſhallop, which they ſecretly ſtole from him. Ardra is one of the principal towns in Guinea, ſtanding upon the ſea-ſide, and the uſual reſidence of a prince who governs a great country in this part of the world.

From thence I went to Prince's Iſle, in ſight whereof I took a ſmall Brandenburgh caper, mounted with

with eight pieces of cannon, and carrying ſixty men. She cruiſed about this latitude, and took all the barks ſhe could light on, without diſtinction of nation or colours. When I had done this, I went into the port, in order to clean my ſhip, which was foul enough; and that I might clear myſelf of the Engliſh prize I had taken, I ſent her away to St. Domingo in America, to have the ſame condemned, under the command of the Sieur de Nave, and a ſufficient number of men in her, whom I picked out of my own crew. But ſome time after, I underſtood ſhe was taken by ſome Engliſh men of war that were before Little Goara.

In the mean time, that my men might not be idle, I gave my officers orders to ſee my ſhip careened, while I myſelf with the Brandenburgh caper which I had taken, and ninety men whom I had put on board her, went out to cruiſe, and continued at it for ſix weeks, upon the coaſt of Guinea, or about the Prince's and St. Omer's Iſlands, without meeting any enemy. Whereupon I returned back into the road of the firſt of theſe iſles, where I revictualled my ſhip as ſoon as poſſibly I could; and when all things were ready, I weighed anchor, and ſailed directly for the iſle of St. Thomas, there either to ſell or truck the caper I had taken; which laſt I choſe to do for ſome proviſions, becauſe I had not enough to go and cruiſe long upon the coaſts of Angola, whither I had reſolved to go and ſpend five or ſix months, in order to avoid the Engliſh ſhips they were fitting out at the ſame town of Guinea, which conſiſted of three men of war and a fire-ſhip, and were deſigned to go in queſt of me, cruiſing about St. Thomas, where they thought I ſhould continue.

As I left St. Thomas, I ſaw a ſhip at anchor; I ſailed towards her, and gave her chace a long time;

but I could not prevent her getting to land at the Iſle of St. Omer, and ſtaving to pieces. In ſtriving to take her, I loſt an hundred and fifty pounds of gold duſt, which this Dutch interloper had got in trading on this coaſt.

This being over, I ſailed for the coaſts of Angola, which is two hundred and fifty leagues on the other ſide of the Line: there I arrived on the twenty-ſecond of September, and underſtood, when I came within three leagues of the port of Cabinda, there were two Engliſh ſhips with negroes on board in that place. As I was to leeward of that port, I bore out to ſea, in hopes next day to have a ſouth-weſt wind, that uſually blows from the ſea-ward, to help to recover the port. When day appeared, I ſaw a ſhip under Engliſh colours bearing upon me, whom I preſently did not take to be a man of war; but ſome time after I diſcovered ſhe carried no leſs than four-and-fifty guns. I uſed all the art I could to amuſe her, and for that end I hung out Dutch colours that I might alſo the more eaſily come near her; while ſhe on her part was not backward to amuſe me, and by the guns ſhe fired from time to time, to aſſure me of her friendſhip, endeavoured to come up with me. When I perceived my enemy's deſign, I took upon me to make a ſhew of waiting for him, and ſailed but very ſlowly, that I might make him believe my ſhip was heavy laden, or that I was incumbered for want of ſails and hands. We kept in this manner from break of day till ten in the forenoon. He gave me a gun from time to time without ball, to aſſure me what he was, and as he ſuppoſed my friend; but finding at laſt I did not anſwer him on my part in the ſame manner, and that we were now within cannon-ſhot of one another, he gave me one again with ball, which made me preſently put up French colours, and anſwer him with another. Hereupon the Engliſh captain without

any more ado gave me two broadſides, which I received without returning him one again, though he had killed me ſeven men; for I was in hopes if I could have got ſomething nearer to him, to put him out of condition ever to get away from me: I endeavoured to come within a fuſil-ſhot of him, and was deſirous to give him an opportunity to ſhew his courage in boarding me, ſince I could not ſo well do the ſame by him, as being to the leeward. At laſt, being come by degrees nearer, and finding him within the reach of my fuſils, which for that end I kept concealed upon the deck from his ſight, they were diſcharged upon him, and my men continued to make ſo great a fire with them, that the enemy on their part began quickly to flag.

In the mean time, as their ſhip's crew conſiſted of above three hundred men, and that they ſaw their cannon could not do their work for them, they reſolved to board us, which they did with a great ſhout, and terrible threatenings of giving no quarter, if we did not ſurrender. Their grappling-irons failing to catch the ſtern of my ſhip, made theirs run in ſuch a manner, that their ſtern run upon my boltſprit, and broke it. Having obſerved my enemy thus encumbered, my men plied them briſkly with their ſmall ſhot, and made ſo terrible a fire upon them for an hour and a half, that being unable to reſiſt any longer, and having loſt a great many men, they left the ſpot, and ran down between decks, and I ſaw them preſently after making ſignals with their hats of crying out for quarter. I cauſed my men therefore to give over firing, and commanded the Engliſh to embark in their ſhallops, and come on board of me, while I made ſome of my crew at the ſame time leap into the enemy's ſhip and ſeize her, and ſo prevent any ſurprize from them. I already rejoiced within myſelf for the taking of ſuch a conſiderable prize; and ſo much the more, in that I hoped, that after having

taken this veſſel that was the guard-ſhip of Angola, and the largeſt the Engliſh had in thoſe ſeas, I ſhould find myſelf in a condition ſtill to take better prizes, and attack any man of war I ſhould meet with. My ſhip's crew were alſo as joyful as myſelf, and did the work they were engaged in with a great deal of pleaſure; but the enemy's powder ſuddenly taking fire, by the means of a match the captain had left burning on purpoſe, as hoping he might eſcape with his two ſhallops, blew both the ſhips into the air, and made the moſt horrible crack that was ever heard. It is impoſſible to ſet forth this horrid ſpectacle to the life; the ſpectators themſelves were the actors of this bloody ſcene, not knowing whether they ſaw it or not, and not being able to judge of that which themſelves felt. Wherefore, leaving the reader to imagine the horror which the blowing up of two ſhips above two hundred fathom into the air muſt work in us, where there was formed as it were a mountain of war, fire, wreck of the ſhips, cordages, cannon, men, with a moſt terrible clap made, what with the cannon that went off in the air, and the waves of the ſea that were toſſed up thither; to which we may add the cracking of maſts and boards, the rending of the ſails and ropes, the cries of men, and the breaking of bones: I ſay, leaving theſe things to the imagination of the reader, I ſhall only take notice of what befel myſelf, and by what good fortune it was that I eſcaped.

When the fire firſt begun, I was upon the fore-deck of my own ſhip, where I gave the neceſſary orders: now I was carried upon part of the ſaid deck ſo high, that I fancy it was the height alone that prevented my being involved in the wreck of the ſhips, where I muſt have infallibly periſhed, and been cut into a thouſand pieces. I fell back into the ſea (you may be ſure) giddy-headed enough, and continued a long time

time under water without being able to get up to the ſurface of it; at laſt, falling into a debate with the water, as a perſon who was afraid of being drowned, I got upon the face of it, and laid hold of a broken piece of a maſt that I found near me. I called to ſome of my men whom I ſaw ſwimming round about me, and exhorted them to take courage, hoping we might yet ſave our lives if we could light upon any one of our ſhallops. But what yet afflicted me more than my very misfortune was, to ſee two half bodies who had ſtill ſomewhat of life remaining in them, from time to time mount up to the face of the water, and leave the place where they appeared all dyed with blood. It was alſo much the ſame thing to ſee round about me a vaſt number of members and ſcattered parts of men's bodies, and moſt of them ſpitted upon ſplinters of wood. At laſt one of my men having met with a whole ſhallop, among all the wreck that ſwam up and down upon the water, came to tell me that we muſt endeavour to ſtop ſome holes therein, and to take out the canoe that lay on board her: we got to the number of fifteen or ſixteen of us who had eſcaped, near unto this ſhallop, every man upon his piece of wood, and took the pains to looſen our canoe, which at length we effected. We went all on board her, and after we had got in, ſaved our chief gunner, who in the fight had had his leg broke. We took up three or four oars or pieces of boards, which ſerved us for that purpoſe; and when we had done that, we ſought out for ſomewhat to make us a ſail, and a little maſt; and having fitted up all things as well as poſſibly we could, we committed ourſelves to the Divine providence, who alone could give us life and deliverance.

As ſoon as I had done working, I found myſelf all over beſmeared with blood that ran from a wound

I had received in my head at the time of my fall. We made ſome lint out of my handkerchief, and a fillet to bind it withal out of my ſhirt, after I had firſt waſhed the wound with urine: the ſame thing was done to the reſt that had been wounded, and our ſhallop in the mean while ſailed along, without making land, or our knowing where we were going and what was ſtill more ſad, was that we had no victuals, and we had already ſpent three days without either eating or drinking. One of our men, being greatly afflicted with hunger and thirſt at the ſame time, drunk ſo much ſalt water that he died of it; moſt of our men vomited continually, whether it were that they were incommoded with the water that got into them when they fell into the ſea, as it will happen if they drink it out of mere neceſſity. As for myſelf, I was incommoded for a long time: I afterwards ſwelled up mightily, and my excrements came from me in the form of ſmall buttons; and I attribute to a quartan ague, that ſeized on me ſoon after, the cure of my dropſy, and recovery of my health, that by degrees returned to me: I make no enumeration of the other inconveniences which ſo dangerous a fall brought upon me, ſuch being unavoidable to a man that fell into ſo great a fire: all my hair, face, and one ſide of me, were burnt with the powder; and the ſame fate attended me as uſually does bombardiers at ſea, and that was, to bleed at the noſe, ears, and mouth. I do not know whether this be the effect of the powder or no, by ſwelling up thoſe veſſels which contain the blood in our bodies to ſuch an extraordinary degree, that the ends of the veins open and let it out; or that the great noiſe and violent motion that is wrought in thoſe organs, makes the ſame happen. But let it come which way it will, ſince there is no room here for a conſultation of phyſicians, as long as we were dying

hunger, nor to enquire what became of the English, when we had ſo much difficulty, and could hardly ſave ourſelves, we continued our courſe up the current with the help of our oars, becauſe we knew the ſame came from the port of Cabindas: but as the wind was againſt us, we could never get thither, and were forced to be ſatisfied to get to the cape of Corſa if we could, which ſtands a dozen leagues from that of Catherſna, where we could not land, becauſe of a bar that renders the coaſt inacceſſible: that was our deſign, but hunger hindered us to put the ſame in execution, and we were forced even to overcome the obſtacles which nature laid in our way, by running aſhore in ſpight of the bar: this we performed at laſt (after much difficulty) being in hopes to find there ſome negroes that might furniſh us with ſome victuals. One of our company preſently landed, in order to go and ſeek out ſomewhat to ſatisfy our hunger; and by good fortune found in a pond, ſticking to the branches of trees, ſome oiſters, whereof he gave us preſently notice. We went all up to the very pond along a channel of the ſea, where we were no ſooner come, but we eat luſtily of the oiſters with a very good appetite: we opened them with a few knives we found in our pockets, lending the ſame from one to another very charitably and readily. When we had ſpent two days in that place, I divided my men into three ſmall companies, and ſent them up into the country to ſeek for victuals and houſes, with orders to return again in the evening to the ſhallop: I went out myſelf alſo as the reſt did; but we could find neither any houſes, nor the leaſt ſign of any men in thoſe parts. All that we could ſee were great herds of buffaloes, as large as oxen, who fled ſo faſt from us, that we could not poſſibly come near them: wherefore having ſpent all the day in this manner, and got

nothing, we returned to our ſhalloop to eat oiſters again, and reſolved next day to leave this place, and go to Cape Corſa, to the leeward of which there is a large port, where ſhips that ſail that way put in to furniſh themſelves with water and wood. The negroes that live in the country having notice of the coming in of ſhips by firing a cannon, come thither alſo with proviſions, and barter the ſame for brandy, knives, and hatchets. They are forced to live remote from the ſea, becauſe all the coaſt is very marſhy. As ſoon as we were got to the ſaid cape, we heard a great noiſe made by the negroes who came thither to ſell wood to the ſhips that lay at anchor in the port: I looked amongſt them to ſee if I could find any one whom I knew, for as they had often brought me ſome wood, and other refreſhments in the courſe of my former voyages, I was in hopes to find ſome or other that would know me again: but though I knew ſeveral of them, it was impoſſible for me to perſuade any of them that I was captain Montauban, ſo much was I diſfigured with my late misfortune; and all of them took me for a man that would impoſe the belief of it upon them: I thought fit to tell them in their own language, whereof I underſtood a little, that I was ready to die with famine, and prayed them to give me ſomewhat to eat; but it ſignified nothing: ſo I deſired them to carry me to prince Thomas, who is ſon to the king of that country, as hoping he might call to mind the favours I had formerly ſhewed him.

I carried all my company with me to that prince. We were firſt brought to the dwellings of thoſe negroes, where they began to be a little more tractable, and gave us ſome bananiers to eat, which are a ſort of figs longer than a man's hand. Next day we got to the prince's habitation; but I was in ſo pitiful a condition, that I could never, by the ſigns I gave,

[redacted]re, make him know me, though I ſpoke to him [redacted] own language, as alſo in the Portugueſe tongue, [redacted]h he underſtood very well. It fortuned one [redacted]y, that going to bathe ourſelves, he ſaw a ſcar upon my thigh, that was the effect of a wound I had received with a muſket-ball: he told me that he muſt immediately know whether I was captain Montauban or no; and that if I were not the man, he would cut off my head: he aſked if ever I had a ſcar with a muſket-ſhot upon my thigh, which when I ſhewed him, he preſently embraced me, and ſaid he was exceeding ſorry to ſee me in that condition, and immediately cauſed victuals to be diſtributed among my men, and divided them into ſeveral habitations, with ſtrict orders to the negroes with whom they were quartered, to take the greateſt care they could of them. As for me, he kept me with himſelf, and made me always eat at his own table. When I was a little brought into order, he ſaid he would carry me to ſee the king his father, who lived five or ſix leagues off, that is, about ten or a dozen from the ſea-ſide. I let him know how great the favour and honour was he did me, and prayed him at the ſame time that I might have the liberty to let my freebooters go along with me, and grant us ſome pieces of ſtuffs to put ourſelves in as good equipage as we could, in order to appear before ſo great a prince; all which he allowed me, and three days after we [redacted] all together in a great canoe, and paſſed by the river of Cape Lopez, becauſe the country is ſo full of marſhes that you cannot go by land.

Being arrived at the king's habitation, which is a village conſiſting of three hundred booths, covered with palm-leaves, wherein the king keeps his wives, family, relations, and ſome other negro families whom he loves beſt, I was lodged at prince Thomas's

houſe, and all my men were diſtributed into [redacted] habitations. We found all the people in gr[redacted] mentation, becauſe the chief of their religion, [redacted] they call Papa, had died that day, when they w[redacted] to begin the funeral obſequies, which were uſually to laſt for ſeven days for prieſts of that quality. This ſame perſon was had in great eſteem and veneration by all the people, they looking upon him to be an holy man. As the king is in mourning, and ſees no body all the while that this funeral ceremony laſts, prince Thomas bid me have patience, and not to go out of my lodgings for to ſee the king, becauſe that was the cuſtom of his nation.

However I could not forbear going to ſee the funeral ſolemnity, where I ſaw nothing elſe but a great concourſe of people ſtanding round the dead corpſe. I was in the mean time very well fed by prince Thomas's orders, who was gone to ſee his father: they did not let me want bananiers, elephant's fleſh, and river fiſh, though all of it came without either bread or wine, as you may well ſuppoſe. My men were treated in the ſame manner in their reſpective quarters all the time we ſtaid there.

At the eight days end prince Thomas came in order to carry us before the king. He is a large negro, well enough made, and about fifty years old, who to do me the greater honour, according to the relation given of me to him by his ſon, came out of his houſe to receive me, and advanced ſome ſteps to meet me. He was ſupported by four or five women, which gave him a kind of an air of grandeur, in a very cumberſome and fantaſtick manner: he was guarded by ſeveral negroes, who were armed with lances and fuſils, which they diſcharged from time to time with no great order: there were ſeveral trumpets and drums marched before him, at the head of which

[redacted]ich company there were ſeveral ſtandards carried, [redacted] in colour to thoſe uſed in Holland. He had [redacted] other clothes than a piece of cotton ſtuff, [redacted]eaked with white and blue, wherewith part of his body was covered, the ſame being ſeveral times folded round about him.

He gave me many demonſtrations of his friendſhip; he alſo ſtretched out his hand to me, ſaying, it was the firſt time he had ever done ſo to any man before me. Being come to his houſe, he ſat at his door, and made me take place on the one ſide of him, as his ſon did on the other. He aſked me ſeveral queſtions concerning the greatneſs and power of the king my maſter; and when I had told him that he alone waged war againſt the Engliſh and the Dutch, whom himſelf knew, as having ſeen them often at the cape of Lopez; that he alſo warred againſt the Germans and Spaniards, who were more potent nations than the Engliſh and Dutch; he alſo told me, he was pleaſed with my account, and that he would drink the king of France's health. Preſently they brought him up ſome palm-wine, which is not unpleaſant to drink, and his wives ſerved him in a great chryſtal glaſs. As ſoon as he began to take the glaſs the negro men and women lifted up their right arm and held the ſame in that poſture very ſilently till he had done drinking; but when it was over, they made a great noiſe with their trumpets and drums, and diſcharged all their muſkets, or I ſhould rather have ſaid fuſils.

Prince Thomas then aſked me, what was the king of France's name, and having told him, Lewis le Grand, he ſaid he had a mind I ſhould hold a child of his, of about ſeven or eight months old, to baptiſm, and that I ſhould give him the name of Lewis le Grand; which made me ſmile a little at the humour. He told me alſo, that the firſt voyage I ſhould make

into

into his country, he would give me the child to c[arry] to France for a preſent to the king, to whoſe fe[rvice] he devoted him, being very deſirous he ſhou[ld be] brought up according to the cuſtom of the count[ry] and court of ſo great a prince. I alſo promiſed on my part, that the firſt time I came to the coaſt of Guinea, I ſhould not fail to come and put him in mind of his promiſe, that ſo, upon my return into France, I might be capable of making the greateſt preſent that could be unto the king, in preſenting him with the ſon of prince Thomas. And aſſure him, ſaid the ſame prince, that I am his friend, and that if he has occaſion for my ſervices, I will go myſelf into France with all the lances and fuſils belonging to the king my father; which was as much as to ſay, with all the force of the kingdom. The king preſently purſued the diſcourſe, and aſſured me he would go thither in perſon, if there was need for it; and with that all the negro men and women raiſed ſuch a ſhout as much ſurprized me; and this was ſcarce over, when the fuſileers made a general diſcharge of their arms; the drums and trumpets went to it again, and thoſe who carried the lances ſet themſelves a-running from one ſide to another with ſuch horrible outcries as frighted me. I was really ignorant of the meaning of all this, and could not be ſatisfied till I ſaw the king drink the French king's health a ſecond time, with the ſame ceremonies as at firſt; prince Thomas drank it alſo, and all of us were commanded to do the ſame. This being over the King ordered two wax cakes to be brought, whereof he made me a preſent, deſiring of me to accept of them as a token of his friendſhip; and then he went into his houſe.

The audience being thus over, prince Thomas carried me along with him into all the parts of the village, whither he went to viſit his friends; and we wer

the ſucceeding days to ſee ſeveral other villages are ſcattered up and down the country, about leagues diſtant from each other.

These people, the greateſt part of whom had never been at the ſea-ſide, and conſequently had not ſeen any white people, ran from all quarters to ſee us, and brought us more fruit, with buffaloe's and elephant's fleſh, than we could eat. As for the elephants of this country, they are not altogether like unto thoſe in the Eaſt-Indies, whereof they are a different ſpecies; as are alſo thoſe of Cafala, near Zanguebar on the Eaſtern coaſts of Ethiopia. The negroes eat of their fleſh with a good appetite, and like the ſame better than any other; hereof they provide their beſt feaſts, and thoſe who were minded to honour us moſt, brought it unto us inſtead of that of buffaloes, which I prefer much before it.

As they were not able to comprehend the difference there was between the colour of their faces and ours, they would frequently put their hands upon our faces to ſee if the white colour would go off; and it was the fortune of many of us to meet with hands ſcrubbed with knives, ſo as that many times we were hurt with them, which yet we durſt not complain of. Prince Thomas, when he ſaw that, commanded all the attendants that they ſhould ſuffer none to come and rub and ſcrape us with their fingers in that manner, and ſpoke aloud to all the people who came to ſee us, that all ſtrangers were white as we were; and that if the negroes went into another country, they would ſeem to be as odd coloured there as we were in Guinea. He laughed alſo from time to time to ſee the people run in that faſhion after us, as if we had been ſome unknown animal; and I am not certain whether he were ſorry to ſee us thus incommoded with the importunities of thoſe negroes, or that he took ſome pleaſure to

ſee

ee the folly of his countrymen, as I have [illegible] many a time, to behold all their extravagant [illegible] mours.

At laſt, after a journey and diverſion together 3 days, the prince brought me back by another way to take my leave of his father: the king careſſed me a thouſand times, after a moſt obliging manner, according to the cuſtom of his country, and made me promiſe I ſhould give him a viſit the firſt time I returned into Guinea. Then we embarked in our canoes, and next day came to prince Thomas's village, where he continued to treat us after the ſame manner he had been uſed to do. Here he ſpake to me again, that he would have me ſtand witneſs for his ſon at his baptiſm; which I did with ſo much the more pleaſure, in that I was helping to make a chriſtian, and ſanctify a ſoul.

But as I was dubious whether the prieſt of the town knew how to baptize a child, or that he could remember he words he ought to ſay at the adminiſtration of that ſacrament, I deſired the prince to ſend for a prieſt out of one of the Portugueſe ſhips, which he preſently did, to Cape Lopez: ſo that one came from thence in two days time. The Portugueſe were the people that brought the chriſtian religion firſt into theſe countries. It is true, they have not kept the ſame up there as they ought to have done; but the difficulties that obſtruct that good eſtabliſhment proceed, without doubt, from hence, that men muſt dwell in a country that is no better than ſavage, where the air and the victuals are not ſo agreeable to ſtrangers. To give religion a ſure footing in theſe regions, it is neceſſary that the Europeans have fixed habitations, or build towns there; that they inſtruct the negroes in the truths of the chriſtian faith, and that they ſend out miſſionaries from time to time among theſe poor wretches. This

might

[redacted]t very eaſily be done; becauſe the people are docile, and readily apprehend the truths which [redacted]would teach them, as having lived without any [redacted]th at all, or any idea of another religion, for a long time. Theſe negroes being once become chriſtians, you might make prieſts among them of their own nation, who might be furniſhed with books for the ceremonies of the church, and a catechiſm for the rule of their faith, until they were capable to read the New Teſtament. It is neceſſary alſo, that a biſhop were conſtituted in this town, who ſhould take care to ſend prieſts to the dwellings of the negroes up and down the countries, and to build oratories in the moſt populous places. The chriſtian religion might in this manner be ſettled in Guinea, and ſo become leſs ſubject to be ruined by the wars which ſtrangers make there. The chriſtians alſo who dwell in the kingdoms of Feſs and Morocco might be reformed, and a correſpondence ſettled between the prieſts of that nation, and thoſe of Guinea, that ſo they might be aſſiſting to one another for the keeping up of religion on all the coaſts of Africa. It was in a manner not unlike unto this, that chriſtianity eſtabliſhed itſelf among the Gentiles, who were an hundred-fold more averſe to our faith than the negroes of Guinea. The prieſts of this country are for the moſt part no prieſts at all, as having never been ordained by any biſhop, and conſtituted themſelves in the room of thoſe that were deceaſed in their country. And thus it is that they have nothing in a manner that ſavours of chriſtianity, though they have ceremonies enough, and ſome appearance of a ſacrifice.

But to return to our baptiſm: the Portugueſe prieſt being come, prince Thomas's ſon was baptized, and named Lewis le Grand, in purſuance to the intention of his father. A negro woman, one

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of his relations, ſerved as god-mother, and [redacted] godfather. I was told this lady was called An[redacted] and that ſhe had been thus named by the wife Portugueſe captain at her baptiſm.

Two or three days after this ceremony was over, which was performed with all the magnificence the negroes were capable of, prince Thomas's guards, which he kept at Cape de Lopez to give him notice of the arrival of any ſhips, came to tell him there was an Engliſh ſhip come thither. I deſired him to let me go on board her, that I might return to my own country, to free myſelf from thoſe many inconveniences I ſtill laboured under. But he would not have me commit myſelf into the hands of my enemies, and deſired me to have a little patience till the arrival of ſome Portugueſe ſhips, with which he would let me go. In the mean time the prince went to Cape Lopez, there to exchange elephants teeth, bees-wax, and negroes, for iron, arms, and brandy, and returned from thence in ten or twelve days.

He told me, when he came back, that there was a Portugueſe ſhip come to anchor at Cape de Lopez, and that I ſhould go down in his canoe in order to go on board her; that he had recommended me to the captain, and that I ſhould want nothing that was neceſſary for my voyage into Europe.

I preſently gathered my men together, except two whom I did not think fit to wait for; for they were gone up into the country five or ſix days before, and I knew not where to find them. We therefore embarked on board this prince's canoes, after I had taken my leave of him; and upon our arrival at Cape Lopez, I found the Portugueſe commander to be one of my friends, with whom I had contracted acquaintance at the iſle of St. Thomas. I went on board him, and three days after we anchored at

[redacted]id iſland, the govern[redacted] whereof ſhewed me [redacted]y men a thouſand civilities during a month's [redacted]that we were forced to tarry in that port. At [redacted] expiration of that time came in an Engliſh ſhip that had been out upon the Gold-Coaſt: I made acquaintance with the captain, and we grew to be ſuch friends, that I thought myſelf obliged in honour to accept of the offers he made me: he prayed me to go on board his ſhip, and aſſured me I ſhould find all the help imaginable at Barbadoes, whither he was bound, becauſe there were very good Jewiſh phyſicians of that iſland of his acquaintance. I embarked therefore in his ſhip, with all my men, notwithſtanding all the reaſons given me by the governor of the iſland to make me ſuſpicious of the Engliſhman, who was undoubtedly as honeſt a man as any of his country: he was ſo civil as to give me his own cabbin, with all the pleaſure and diverſion he could think of, for the ſolacing of my ſpirits under the afflictions I had from time to time endured.

Ten days after our departure from St. Thomas, a blaſt of wind unhappily made us loſe our rudder, in the room whereof we were forced to ſet up a ſpare top-maſt; and this proved very detrimental to our voyage, which laſted no leſs than three months.

Proviſions began to be ſcarce before our arrival at Barbadoes; ſo that when we came there, we had no more than what would have ſerved us for three days longer; inſomuch that the captain, being concerned that he had taken our men aboard, ordered our allowance to be leſſened three fourths of what it ſhould be. When we were got to port, the captain went to wait upon colonel Ruſſel, who is general there, related to him my whole adventure with the guard-ſhip of Angola, and was much blamed for bringing

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me to Barbadoes. When the captain returned board his ſhip, he told me what the governor ſaid, who had forbid him upon pain of death me go aſhore: however, he ſaid nothing to me this prohibition, but contented himſelf with only deſiring me not to go aſhore, that it might create no ſuſpicion in the governor; which I promiſed exactly to perform, having no great concern upon me of ſeeing a place again that I had known ſo long ago, and being unwilling to create my captain any trouble.

Next day ſeveral Jews that had been driven away from Martinico, having heard of my arrival, came to ſee me, and finding I was very crazy, and much out of order, they ſent ſome phyſicians of their nation to me, who ſaid I could not be cured, if I were not carried aſhore, and thereupon offered to ſollicit the governor on my behalf, for giving me leave to go and lie in a houſe in the town. I drew up a petition to him, praying him to grant me that liberty, and promiſing I would not ſtir out of the chamber where I was placed, till I were to reimbark to go for Martinico.

The phyſicians themſelves were obliged to be my ſecurities, and I was at length carried to Mr. Jacob Lewis's houſe, where I was very well looked after all the time I ſtaid there. Three days after I was brought thither, the major-general came to ſee me from colonel Ruſſel the governor: he very civilly offered me his protection, and all thoſe things that could be conducive for the recovery of my health; the ſame major, as alſo the captain of the garriſon, came alſo to viſit me from time to time, though I apprehended they came not ſo much to inſpect into the ſtate of my health, as to ſee if I were in a condition to be tranſported out of that iſland. Colonel Ruſſel, about ten or twelve days after my arrival, came to

I were as bad as they ſaid I was. He came about ſeven or eight days after in the evening, and adviſed me to be carried out of the Jew's houſe where I was, to an Engliſh merchant's. He told me I ſhould be better accommodated there than at Jacob Lewis's; but I thought it was to the intent I might be watched more narrowly, and not converſe with many people. He came to ſee me the next day, and aſked, how I liked my new lodgings? I rendered him many thanks for the civilities and kindneſſes he ſhewed me, and that he might have no occaſion to ſuſpect my men, I prayed him to ſhut them up in the citadel, that they might not run about the iſland, and to prevent their making of their eſcape.

He ſaid, he would take care of it; but that I was to underſtand they were priſoners of war as well as myſelf. I made anſwer, I knew that, and that I thought myſelf an happy man, to have fallen into his hands: but that the Engliſh captain, who had brought me to Barbadoes, had given me his word, I ſhould not be detained, nor any of my men; that it was upon his faith given me, and the tenders of ſervice he made, that I had embarked, as firmly relying upon thoſe teſtimonies of his friendſhip he had given me. Then I deſired him to grant me and my men our liberty, promiſing I ſhould be ever mindful of the favour done me, whether it were by reſtoring of the priſoners I might take belonging to the iſlands, or paying him ſuch a ranſom as he required.

No, ſaid the governor, I will have neither your ranſom, nor your priſoners, and you are too brave a man for me to have no compaſſion upon your many misfortunes; I deſire, on the contrary, that you would accept of theſe 40 piſtoles, which I preſent you with to ſupply your preſent occaſion: he gave them

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me in a purſe, which he had doubtleſs br[illegible] along with him for that purpoſe; and when [illegible] me, he ſaid, he went to give orders for to bri[illegible] men together. Next day he ſent me two of th[illegible] who ſaid they knew not what was become of the reſt, and that they had orders from the gover[illegible]or to ſtay with me. I had the liberty to ſend them aboard to get me neceſſaries; and at laſt, finding myſelf ſomewhat recovered by the care my landlord took of me, I told the officer that came daily to ſee me, that I deſired the governor to let me go on board the firſt veſſel that was bound to Martinico.

Three days after came a bark, which the count de Blenac, general of the French iſlands, had ſent thither about the exchange of priſoners: colonel Ruſſel ſent me word ſhe was come, and that I ſhould prepare to be gone. Then it was I had the liberty to go to his houſe to render him thanks for all the civilities he had ſhewed me: he told me, he was ſorry that by the laws of war he was bound to allow me no more liberty than I had, and that he prayed me to uſe the Engliſh kindly that ſhould happen to fall into my hands. This being done, I went on board the French bark, which was commanded by the Sieur Courpon, formerly an inhabitant of St. Chriſtopher's, and I could never find any more of my free-booters than thoſe two I have ſpoken of, whom the governor ſent me.

We went aſhore at Port-Royal in Martinico and I, went with my men to the town to wait upon monſieur de Blenac who was then ſick of that diſtemper he died of. I gave him a relation of all my adventures, and I am ſure he was ſurprized to hear the particulars of ſo many misfortunes: as he would have me ſtay at his houſe all the time I tarried in Martinico, he made me every day repeat unto him the manner

[redacted]y fight with the Engliſh man of war; and at [redacted]nding an opportunity of getting me tranſported [redacted]rance, he ſent for the captain of the ſhip who [redacted]bound thither, and recommended me to him. [redacted]e would alſo have writ letters by me to monſieur [redacted]lipeaux, to recommend me to ſome employ; but the day before my departure he was taken ſo very ill that he could not write, and that day, which was the 10th of June, in the evening he died: I was mightily troubled at his death for ſeveral reaſons. He was a perſon that took delight in ſerving every body; who had great compaſſion on ſuch as had been perſecuted by an evil fate, as was my caſe, who went forwards with what he knew, who of himſelf made an offer of thoſe favours he was minded to beſtow, before they were aſked of him; and who in ſhort, was brave as to his perſon, ſkilful in maritime affairs, a good ſeaman, knew all the coaſts and heights of land in America, was in great eſteem with the king for his integrity, wiſdom, juſtice, and for all the great ſervices he had done the government in the way of commerce and diſcovery of iſlands. The next day after his death I embarked on board the Virgin, a ſhip belonging to Bourdeaux, and which had been built there, in which port, after a paſſage of not many days, I arrived at laſt, with many different thoughts, and contrary ſentiments within me. I do not know whether I have bid the ſea adieu, ſo much has my laſt misfortune terrified me; or whether I ſhall go out again to be revenged on the Engliſh, who have done me ſo much miſchief, or go and traverſe the ſeas with a deſign to get me a little wealth, to reſt quiet, and eat up what my relations have left [redacted]. There is as ſtrange an inclination in men to undertake voyages, as there is to gaming; whatever miſchiefs befal them, they do not believe they will be always unhappy, and therefore they will play on.

on. Thus it is as to the ſea, whatever accidents [redacted] us, we are in hopes to find a favourable oppor[redacted] to make us amends for all our loſſes. I believe [redacted] ever reads this account will find it an hard tal[redacted] give me counſel thereupon, or to take the ſame him- ſelf.

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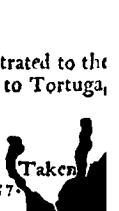

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